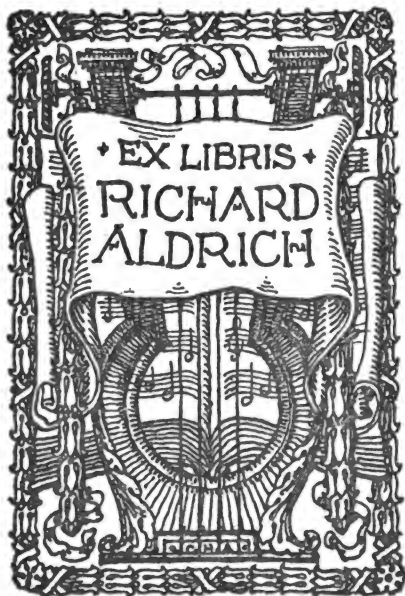


Proceedings of the Musical Association

Musical
Association (Great
Britain)

Mus 30.12.2(30)

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*IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL
MUSICAL SOCIETY.*

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MUSICAL ASSOCIATION
(INCORPORATED 1904)

FOUNDED MAY 29, 1874

FOR THE INVESTIGATION AND
DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE
ART AND SCIENCE OF MUSIC.

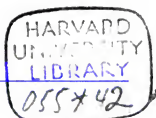
THIRTIETH SESSION, 1903-1904.

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LONDON:
NOVELLO AND CO., LIMITED, 1, BERNERS STREET, W.
1904.

Mus 30.12.2 (30)

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Licence

BY THE BOARD OF TRADE.

Pursuant to Section 23 of the Companies Act, 1867.

WHEREAS it has been proved to the Board of Trade that THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED 1904) which is about to be registered under the Companies Acts, 1862 to 1900, as an Association limited by guarantee, is formed for the purpose of promoting objects of the nature contemplated by the 23rd Section of the Companies Act, 1867, and that it is the intention of the said Association that the income and property of the Association whencesoever derived shall be applied solely towards the promotion of the objects of the Association as set forth in the Memorandum of Association of the said Association and that no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly by way of dividend or bonus or otherwise howsoever by way of profit to the members of the said Association.

NOW THEREFORE the Board of Trade in pursuance of the powers in them vested and in consideration of the provisions and subject to the conditions contained in the Memorandum of Association of the said Association as subscribed by seven members thereof on the 14th day of June, 1904, do by this their Licence direct THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION (INCORPORATED 1904) to be registered with limited liability without the addition of the word "Limited" to its name.

Signed by Order of the Board of Trade this 17th day of June, 1904.

T. W. P. BLOMEFIELD,

An Assistant Secretary to the Board of Trade.

No. 81327.



Certificate of Incorporation.

I hereby Certify *that* THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION (*Incorporated 1904*) *the word Limited being omitted by Licence of the Board of Trade is this day Incorporated under the Companies Acts, 1862 to 1900, and that the Company is Limited.*

Given under my hand at London this Twenty-second day of June, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Four.

H. F. BARTLETT,

Registrar of Joint Stock Companies.

Memorandum of Association

OF

THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

(INCORPORATED 1904).

1. The name of the Company is "THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION (Incorporated 1904)."

2. The registered office of the Company shall be situated in England.

3. The objects for which The Musical Association (Incorporated 1904) is established are to do all or any of the following things for the purpose of attaining the objects so far as allowed by law, and observing and performing whatever may be required by law in order legally to carry out such objects—

- (A) The reading of papers on subjects connected with the art, science, theory, practice, composition, acoustics, history of music and the construction of musical instruments, with discussion of these subjects and the giving of illustrations in reference to the papers read.
- (B) To compile, publish and distribute a report of the papers read or abstracts of the same, and abstracts of the discussions in the form of a volume of "Proceedings," together with a list of the Council, officers and members, and a report of the progress of the Association for the year.
- (C) To establish, subsidise, promote, co-operate with, receive into union, become a member of, act or appoint trustees, agents or delegates for, control, manage, superintend, provide monetary assistance to or otherwise assist any associations, societies and institutions, incorporated or not incorporated, with objects altogether or in part similar to those of The Musical Association.
- (D) To give monetary assistance to any person or persons for the purpose of carrying out investigations of such subjects as are specified in paragraph (A) and are cognate thereto.
- (E) To acquire offices, halls and other places of meeting, and to form libraries of books and music for the use of the members.

- (F) To invest all moneys of the Association not immediately required in such legal securities, or otherwise in such manner as may from time to time be determined.
- (G) To do all other cognate and lawful things as are incidental to the attainment of the above objects. Provided that in case the Association shall take or hold any property subject to the jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, the Association shall not sell, mortgage, charge or lease such property without such consent as may be required by law; and as regards any such property, the managers or trustees of the Association shall be chargeable for such property as may come into their hands, and shall be answerable and accountable for their own acts, receipts, neglects, and defaults, and for the due administration of such property in the same manner and to the same extent as they would, as such managers or trustees, have been if no incorporation had been effected; and the incorporation of the Association shall not diminish or impair any control or authority exerciseable by the Chancery Division or the Charity Commissioners over such managers or trustees, but they shall, as regards any such property, be subject jointly and separately to such control and authority as if the Association were not incorporated. If the Association take any property on special trusts the Association shall only deal with such property in accordance with such trusts.

4. The income and property of the Association, whence-soever derived, shall be applied solely towards the attainment of the objects of the Association as set forth in this Memorandum of Association; and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred, directly or indirectly, by way of dividend, bonus or otherwise howsoever by way of profit to the members of the Association. Provided that subject to the provisions contained in clause 6 hereof nothing herein shall prevent the payment in good faith, or remuneration to any officer or servants of the Association, or subject to the provisions hereinafter contained to any member of the Association, or other person in return for any services actually rendered to the Association.

5. The 4th paragraph of this Memorandum is a condition on which a licence is granted by the Board of Trade to the Association in pursuance of section 23 of the Companies Act, 1867.

6. If any member of the Association pays or receives any dividend, bonus or other profit in contravention of the terms of the 4th paragraph of this Memorandum, his liability shall be unlimited.

7. Provided further, that no member of the Council or governing body of the Association shall be appointed to any salaried office or any office paid by fees, and that no remuneration shall be given to any member of such Council or governing body except repayment of out-of-pocket expenses, and interest on money lent or rent for property demised to the Association. If any payment shall be made to any member, or any act done in contravention of the provisions of this clause, the liability shall be unlimited of any member who shall receive or make such payment or do such act after he has been advised in writing that it is contrary to the provisions of this clause. Provided further, that this provision shall not apply to any payment to any railway, omnibus, tramway, gas, electric lighting, water, cable or telephone company of which a member of the Council or governing body may be a member, and such member shall not be bound to account for any share of profits he may receive in respect of such payment.

8. Every member of the Association undertakes to contribute to the assets of the Association in the event of the same being wound up during the time that he is a member, or within one year afterwards for payment of the debts and liabilities of the Association contracted before the time at which he ceases to be a member, and of the costs, charges and expenses of winding-up the Association, and for the adjustment of the rights of the contributories among themselves, such amount as may be required not exceeding £1 sterling; or in case of his liability becoming unlimited, such other amount as may be required in pursuance of the last preceding paragraph of this Memorandum.

9. If upon the winding-up or dissolution of the Association there remain after the satisfaction of all its debts and liabilities any property whatsoever, the same shall not be paid to or distributed among the members of the Association, but if and so far as effect can be given to the next provision, shall be given or transferred to some institution established with similar objects, as may be determined by the members of the Association at or before the time of dissolution, or in default thereof by such Judge of the High Court of Justice as may have or acquire jurisdiction in the matter, and if and so far as effect cannot be given to such provision then to some charitable object.

10. True accounts shall be kept of the sums of money received and expended by the Association and the matter in

respect of which such receipt and expenditure takes place, and of the property, credits and liabilities of the Association. These accounts shall be open to the inspection of the members, subject to any reasonable restriction as to the time and manner of inspecting the same that may be imposed in accordance with the regulations of the Association for the time being. Once at least in every year the accounts of the Association shall be examined and the correctness of the balance sheet ascertained by one or more properly appointed Auditor or Auditors.

NAMES, ADDRESSES AND DESCRIPTION OF SUBSCRIBERS.

- WILLIAM HAYMAN CUMMINGS,
Sydcote, Rosendale Road, West Dulwich, S.E.,
Mus. Doc., Principal of the Guildhall School of Music.
- JOSEPH PERCY BAKER,
289, High Road, Lee, S.E.,
Mus. Bac. Durham.
- THOMAS HENRY YORKE TROTTER,
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Mus. Bac. London.
- CHARLES MACLEAN,
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M.A. & Mus. Doc. Oxon.
- THOMAS LEA SOUTHGATE,
19, Manor Park, Lee, Kent,
Gentleman.
- WALTER WILLSON COBBETT,
40, Sydenham Hill, S.E.,
Director of Public Companies.
-

Dated this 14th day of June, 1904.

Witness to the above Signatures—

ARTHUR T. CUMMINGS,
Abchurch House,
Sherborne Lane,
London, E.C.,
Solicitor.

Articles of Association

OF

THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

(INCORPORATED 1904).

IT IS AGREED AS FOLLOWS—

1. For the purpose of registration the number of members of The Musical Association (Incorporated 1904) is declared not to exceed 500.

2. These Articles shall be construed with reference to "The Companies Act, 1862," and "The Companies Act, 1867," and the terms used in these Articles shall be taken as having the same respective meanings as they have when used in those Acts.

3. The Musical Association (Incorporated 1904) is established for the purposes expressed in the Memorandum of Association.

4. The Musical Association (Incorporated 1904) shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Ordinary Members of the Council, Honorary Treasurer, Trustees, Auditors Secretary, Members, and Honorary Foreign Members.

5. All persons shall be eligible for Membership. Admission of members shall be by ballot of the members. Every candidate for admission as a member shall be proposed by one member, seconded by another, and his name with that of his proposer and seconder shall be placed by the Secretary on a notice paper which shall be sent to every member of the Association seven clear days at least before the next Ordinary Meeting. The members assembled at the next Ordinary Meeting shall ballot for or against the election of the candidate and one black ball in five shall exclude.

- (A) Members shall pay on election either a compounded life subscription of ten guineas or a subscription not exceeding one guinea, and thereafter an annual subscription not exceeding one guinea to be paid on the 1st of November in each year. Life subscriptions shall be invested in legal security in the names of trustees to be appointed by the Council. The same trustees shall have power to hold other sums accumulated by or accruing to the Association. The amount of the annual subscriptions and life subscriptions may be altered by special resolution only.

- (B) Honorary membership may be conferred on foreign musicians residing abroad and distinguished in the art, science or literature of music, on the nomination of the Council, subsequently approved by the members present at any Ordinary General Meeting of the Association. Honorary members shall not be entitled to vote at any meeting.
- (c) Any member intending to resign his membership shall signify his wish by notice in writing to the Secretary on or before the 31st of October in each year, otherwise he shall be liable for his subscription for the ensuing year. If such subscription be not paid on or before the 1st day of April following the defaulter shall cease to be a member of the Association, and his name shall be erased from the list of members.

6. The government and arrangement of the affairs of the Association shall be vested in a Council consisting of a President, Vice-Presidents, ten ordinary members of the Association, with the following honorary officers, viz.:—a Treasurer, Trustees, and Auditors.

- (A) The President, Vice-Presidents and five ordinary members of the Council shall retire at the end of each year. The ordinary members of the Council to retire at the end of the first and second year shall be determined by ballot, after that the ordinary members who have been longest in office shall retire. All who have served shall be eligible for re election. No member whose subscription is in arrear shall be elected on the Council.
- (B) At Council Meetings four shall form a quorum, and the Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote in addition to his vote as a member of the Council, in the event of the number of votes on a division being equal.
- (c) The Council may appoint sub-committees to consider and carry out any business committed to them. And the Council may appoint such assistants as may be required for the business work of the Association, and at such remuneration as they shall from time to time determine.
- (D) The official seal of the Association shall only be affixed to documents ordered to be sealed by a resolution of the Council and shall be so affixed in the presence of one member of the Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The first President of the Association shall be Sir Hubert Parry, Bart., M.A., D.C.L., Mus. Doc., F.R.C.O., Hon. R.A.M., L.T.C.L., J.P., Fellow of the University of London, Hon. Fell. Exeter College, Oxford, Professor of Music in the University of Oxford, and Director of the Royal College of Music, if he will consent to act.

8. The first Council shall consist of the following members of the Association or such of them as shall consent to act.

The Council and officers of The Musical Association for the year 1904:—

President.

SIR C. HUBERT PARRY, Bart., M.A., D.C.L., Mus. Doc. Oxon., Cantab. et Dublin, Prof. Mus. Univ. Oxf., Director of the Royal College of Music.

Vice-Presidents.

ADAMS, WILLIAM GRYLLS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Professor King's College.

BARRY, C. A., Esq., M.A.

BOSANQUET, R. H. M., Esq., M.A., F.R.A.S., F.C.S.

BRIDGE, SIR FREDERICK, M.V.O., Mus. Doc. Oxon., Organist of Westminster Abbey, Gresham Prof. of Music, Prof. Mus. Univ. Lond.

CUMMINGS, W. H., Esq., Mus. D. Dub., F.S.A., Hon. R.A.M., Principal Guildhall School of Music.

GARCIA, MANUEL, Esq., M.D. (Hon.).

GOLDSCHMIDT, OTTO, Esq.

MACFARREN, WALTER, Esq.

MACLEAN, CHARLES, Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc. Oxon.

PRENDERGAST, A. H. D., Esq., M.A.

PROUT, E., Esq., B.A. Lond., Mus. Doc. Dub. et Edin., Prof. Mus. Univ. Dub.

RAYLEIGH, RT. HON. LORD, M.A., F.R.S.

STANFORD, SIR CHARLES VILLIERS, Mus. Doc. Cantab. et Oxon., M.A., D.C.L., Prof. Mus. Univ. Camb.

Elected Members.

COBBETT, W. W., Esq.

EDGAR, CLIFFORD B., Esq., B.Sc., Mus. Bac. Lond.

EDWARDS, F. G., Esq., F.R.A.M.

MAITLAND, J. A. FULLER, Esq., M.A.

MCAUGHT, W. G., Esq., F.R.A.M., Mus. Doc. Cantuar.

SHINN, F. G., Esq., Mus. Doc. Dunelm.

SOUTHGATE, THOMAS LEA, Esq.

SQUIRE, WILLIAM BARCLAY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.

STAINER, J. F. R., Esq., M.A., B.C.L.

WEBB, F. GILBERT, Esq.

Hon. Treasurer.

CLIFFORD B. EDGAR, Esq., Mus. Bac., Wedderlie, Queen's Road, Richmond, Surrey.

Trustees.

SIR FREDERICK BRIDGE, M.V.O.
 OTTO GOLDSCHMIDT, Esq.
 J. F. R. STAINER, Esq., M.A., B.C.L.

Hon. Auditors.

DAVID JAMES BLAICKLEY, Esq.
 Dr. C. BOWDLER, C.B., &c.

Solicitor.

ARTHUR T. CUMMINGS, Esq., Abchurch House,
 Sherborne Lane, E.C.

Secretary.

J. PERCY BAKER, Esq., 289, High Road, Lee, S.E.

Offices of the Musical Association.

MESSRS. BROADWOOD & SONS, Ltd., Conduit Street, W.

9. The election of members of the Council (in accordance with Article 6) and of the Honorary Treasurer and Honorary Auditors, shall take place annually at the General Meeting of members of the Association. In the event of the death or resignation of any member of the Council or any officer, the vacancy shall be forthwith filled up by the Council; subject to confirmation, where necessary, at the next General Meeting, the persons elected to fill a vacancy shall retire at the date when the person in whose place he shall be elected would have retired.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected from the members and shall be elected annually at the General Meeting by the members of the Association for the time being present at such meeting. Members desiring to nominate fresh members to serve on the Council shall send the names of their nominees with seconders to the Secretary at least seven days before the date appointed for the meeting.

10. The first General Meeting shall be held not less than one month nor more than three months after the registration of the Memorandum of Association. A General Meeting of the members, of which seven clear days' notice shall be given, shall be held annually, when a report of the progress of the Association shall be read, the duly audited accounts shall be presented, and the election of such officers as are appointed annually shall take place. The Ordinary Meetings of the members for the reading and discussion of papers, the election of members and transaction of other business shall be held as often and at such times and places as the Council shall direct. Provided that as regards any such meeting at which it is proposed to ballot for members or transact business other than the reading and discussion of papers the Secretary shall send to the members seven clear days' notice stating thereon the precise nature of the business to be transacted.

11. An Extraordinary General Meeting of the members may be called by direction of the Council, or shall be called upon requisition signed by not less than 20 members of the Association, such direction or requisition stating the object for which such meeting is desired; the Secretary shall forthwith issue a notice (together with a copy of the direction or requisition) convening an Extraordinary General Meeting of members to be held not less than seven or more than 21 days after that date. At an Extraordinary General Meeting 15 members shall form a quorum, and no other business than that specified in the direction or requisition shall be considered.

12. No member whose subscription is in arrear shall be entitled to vote at any meeting of the Association. Subject to this and the provision that no honorary member shall have a vote each member shall have one vote.

13. Should a question arise as to the conduct of any member of the Association, after an opportunity for explanation has been given to the member, the Council shall inquire into the matter, and if deemed desirable by a majority present they may expel the member. Any member so expelled shall have the right forthwith to appeal to an Extraordinary General Meeting, when a majority of two-thirds of those present shall be required to confirm the expulsion.

14. Bye-laws, rules and regulations may from time to time be made by the Council for their own government and that of the affairs of the Association. The Council may from time to time rescind, alter or vary the same. Such bye-laws, rules and regulations so made from time to time shall remain in force until rescinded or varied: Provided that, except by a special resolution, no bye-law, rule or regulation shall be made which would amount to such an alteration or addition to the Articles as could only legally be made by a special resolution.

15. The provisions of the Companies Act, 1900, as to audit and Auditors shall be observed.

16. A notice may be served by the Association upon any member, either personally or by sending it through the post in a prepaid letter addressed to such member at his registered place of address.

17. As regards those members who have no registered address in the United Kingdom, a notice posted up in the offices of the Association shall be deemed to be well served on them at the expiration of twenty-four hours after it is posted up.

18. Any notice required to be given by the Association to the members, or any of them, and not expressly provided for by these presents, shall be sufficiently given if given by advertisement.

19. Any notice required to be or which may be given by advertisement shall be advertised once in two London newspapers.

20. Any notice sent by post shall be deemed to have been served on the day following that on which the envelope or wrapper containing the same is posted, and in proving such service it shall be sufficient to prove that the envelope or wrapper containing the notice was properly addressed and put into the post office.

NAMES, ADDRESSES, AND DESCRIPTION OF SUBSCRIBERS.

WILLIAM HAYMAN CUMMINGS,	
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Mus. Bac. Durham.	
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M.A., Mus. Doc. Oxon.	
ARTHUR MAKINSON FOX,	
Brendon, Teddington, Middlesex,	
Mus. Bac. London.	
CHARLES MACLEAN,	
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M.A. & Mus. Doc. Oxon.	
THOMAS LEA SOUTHGATE,	
19, Manor Park, Lee, Kent,	
Gentleman.	
WALTER WILLSON COBBETT,	
40, Sydenham Hill, S.E.,	
Director of Public Companies.	

Dated this 14th day of June, 1904.

Witness to the above Signatures—

ARTHUR T. CUMMINGS,
 Abchurch House,
 Sherborne Lane,
 London, E.C.,
 Solicitor.

THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

(INCORPORATED 1904).

(IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MUSICAL SOCIETY.)

FOR THE INVESTIGATION AND DISCUSSION OF SUBJECTS
CONNECTED WITH THE ART AND SCIENCE OF MUSIC.

FOUNDED MAY 29, 1874.

Council.

PRESIDENT.

Sir C. HUBERT H. PARRY, Bart., M.A., D.C.L., Mus. Doc., Oxon., Cantab.
Dublin, et Leeds, Prof. Mus. Univ. Oxf., Director of the Royal College
of Music.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

ADAMS, WILLIAM GRYLLS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Professor King's College.
BARRY, C. A., Esq., M.A.
BOSANQUET, R. H. M., Esq., M.A., F.R.A.S., F.C.S.
BRIDGE, Sir FREDERICK, M.V.O., Mus. Doc., Oxon., Organist of Westminster
Abbey, Gresham Prof. of Music., Prof. Mus. Univ. Lond.
CUMMINGS, W. H., Esq., Mus.D., Dub., F.S.A., Hon. R.A.M., Principal
Guildhall School of Music.
GARCIA, MANUEL, Esq., M.D. (Hon.).
GOLDSCHMIDT, OTTO, Esq., Hon. R.A.M. and R. Swedish A.M.
MACFARREN, WALTER, Esq., F.R.A.M.
MACLEAN, CHARLES, Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc., Oxon.
PRENDERGAST, A. H. D., Esq., M.A.
PROUT, E., Esq., B.A., Lond., Mus. Doc., Dub. et Edin., Prof. Mus. Univ. Dub.
RAYLEIGH, Rt. Hon. LORD, M.A., F.R.S.
STANFORD, Sir CHARLES VILLIERS, Mus. Doc., Cantab., Oxon. et Leeds, M.A.,
D.C.L., Prof. Mus. Univ. Camb.

ORDINARY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

COBBETT, W. W., Esq.
EDGAR, CLIFFORD B., Esq., B.Sc., Mus. Bac., Lond.
EDWARDS, F. G., Esq., F.R.A.M.
MAITLAND, J. A. FULLER, Esq., M.A.
McNAUGHT, W. G., Esq., F.R.A.M., Mus. Doc., Cantuar.
SHINN, F. G., Esq., Mus.D., Dunelm.
SOUTHGATE, THOMAS LEA, Esq.
SQUIRE, W. BARCLAY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., F.R.G.S.
STAINER, J. F. R., Esq., M.A., B.C.L.
WEBB, F. GILBERT, Esq.

TRUSTEES.

Sir FREDERICK BRIDGE, M.V.O. | OTTO GOLDSCHMIDT, Esq.
J. F. R. STAINER, Esq., M.A., B.C.L.

HON. TREASURER.

CLIFFORD B. EDGAR, Esq., Mus. Bac., Wedderlie, Queen's Road, Richmond,
Surrey.

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DAVID JAMES BLAICKLEY, Esq.
Dr. C. BOWDLER.

HON. SOLICITOR.

ARTHUR T. CUMMINGS, Esq.

SECRETARY.

J. PERCY BAKER, Esq., 5, Avenue Villas, Tooting Graveney, S.W.

HONORARY FOREIGN MEMBERS.

- Adler, Prof. Dr. Guido (Vienna).
 Gevaert, Monsieur F. A. (Brussels).
 Riemann, Dr. Hugo, Mus.D., Edin., Phil.D., Göttingen (Leipsc).
 Stradiot, Monsieur Eugene (Madras).

LIFE MEMBERS.

- Alexander, Lesley, Esq.
 *Baker, J. Percy, Esq., Mus.B., Dunelm, A.R.A.M. (*Secretary*).
 Beaumont, Captain Alex. Spink.
 *Blaikley, David James, Esq. (*Hon. Auditor*).
 Bosanquet, R. H. M., Esq., M.A., F.R.A.S., F.C.S., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxon. (*Vice-President*).
 Brogden, F. B., Esq.
 Clarke, Sir Ernest, M.A.
 *Cooper, Ernest E., Esq.
 Finlayson, Ruthven, Esq.
 *Hadow, W. H., Esq., M.A., Mus.B., Oxon.
 *Lacy, F. St. John, Esq., A.R.A.M.
 *Latham, Morton, Esq., LL.D., M.A., Mus B., Cantab., J.P.
 Sharp, H. Granville, Esq., M.A., Oxon.
 *Shinn, Frederick G., Esq., Mus. Doc., Dunelm, A.R.C.M., F.R.C.O.
 Spottiswoode, W. Hugh, Esq.
 Stainer, Edward, Esq.
 Stainer, J. F. R., Esq., M.A., B.C.L. (*Trustee*).
 *Strangways, A. H. Fox, Esq.
 *Welch, C., Esq., M.A.
 *Woods, F. Cunningham, Esq., M.A., Mus. Bac., Oxon.

MEMBERS.

- | | |
|--|--|
| Abernethy, Frank N., Esq., Mus. Doc., Oxon. | *Bridge, J. C., Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc., Oxon. (Chester). |
| Adams, W. Grylls, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., Professor, King's College (<i>Vice-President</i>). | Brooksbank, Oliver O., Esq., Mus.D., Dunelm. |
| *Aikin, W. A., Esq., M.D. | Browne, Rev. Marmaduke E. |
| *Alabaster, J. H., Esq. | Brownlow, Mrs. J. M. E. |
| Alsop, John, Esq. | Bruce, George F., Esq., F.R.C.O. |
| Attenborough, Miss Florence G. | *Buck, Percy C., Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc., Oxon. (Harrow). |
| *Barnett, John Francis, Esq., F.R.A.M. | Burgess, Francis, Esq. |
| *Barry, C. A., Esq., M.A., (<i>Vice-President</i>). | Butler, Walter, Esq. |
| *Barton, Mrs. F. A. | Carrick, Ernest F. P., Esq. |
| Belsham, Oliver D., Esq., J.P. | *Cart, Rev. Henry, M.A. |
| Bengough, Rev. E. S., M.A., Mus. Bac., Oxon. | *Carter, Miss Margaret, L.R.A.M., A.R.C.M. |
| *Bennett, G. J., Esq., Mus. Doc., Cantab. (Lincoln). | *Chamberlayne, Miss E. A. |
| *Benson, Lionel S., Esq. | Clarke, Somers, Jun., Esq. |
| *Bethune, Charles C., Esq. | Clements, Miss Clara H., A.T.C.L. |
| Bonner, W. Harding, Esq. | Clinton, G. A., Esq. |
| Borland, J. E., Esq., Mus. Bac., Oxon., F.R.C.O. | *Cobbett, W. W., Esq. |
| Boundy, Miss Kate, A.R.C.M. | Collard, John C., Esq. |
| Bourne, T. W., Esq., M.A. | *Coward, Henry, Esq., Mus. Doc., Oxon. (Sheffield). |
| *Bowdler, C., Esq., M.A., LL.D., Mus. Bac., Dublin (<i>Hon. Auditor</i>). | Crews, Chas. T. D., Esq. |
| Brandt, R. E., Esq. | *Culwick, James C., Esq., Mus. Doc., T.C.D. (Dublin). |
| *Bridge, Sir Frederick, M.V.O., Mus. Doc., Oxon., Organist, Westminster Abbey, Prof. Mus. Univ. Lond., Gresham Prof. Mus. (<i>Vice-President and Trustee</i>). | *Cummings, W. H., Esq., Mus.D., Dub., F.S.A., Principal Guildhall School Mus. (<i>Vice-President</i>). |
| | Curwen, J. S., Esq., F.R.A.M. |
| | Dale, C. J., Esq. |
| | Davison, Munro, Esq., L.R.A.M. |

- Daymond, Miss Emily R., Mus. D., Oxon., A.R.C.M.
- *Dent, Edward J., Esq., M.A., Mus. B., Cantab. (Cambridge).
- Dillon, Charles E. M., Esq.
- *Donaldson, Sir George.
- *Douglas, Colonel H. A. (Rome).
- *Edgar, Clifford B., Esq., Mus. Bac., Lond., B.Sc. (*Hon. Treasurer*).
- *Edwards, F. G., Esq., F.R.A.M.
- *Ernest, Gustav, Esq.
- Everington, W. A., Esq.
- *Ferguson, Miss Phémie, A.R.C.M.
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- Fox, Arthur M., Esq., Mus. Bac., Lond., A.R.C.O.
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- Garcia, Manuel, Esq., M.D. (*Hon. (Vice-President)*).
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- *Goldschmidt, Otto, Esq. (*Vice-President and Trustee*).
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- *Goodman, P., Esq. (Dublin).
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- Gray, Mrs. Robin.
- *Griffin, Ralph, Esq.
- Harding, H. A., Esq., Mus. Doc., Oxon. (Bedford).
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- Havergal, Captain A., R.N.
- *Hawker, Rev. Percy D.
- Haysman, Hamilton, Esq.
- *Herbert, George, Esq.
- Hichens, The Rev. Canon F. H., M.A. (Canterbury).
- Higgins, Miss Florence G. E., Mus. Bac., Lond.
- Hill, Arthur F., Esq.
- Hill, Arthur G., Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
- *Hill, Cyril F., Esq.
- *Holland, Theodore, Esq.
- Hope, Robert Charles, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.S.L. (Florence).
- Hulton, F. Everard W., Esq., Mus. Bac., Oxon.
- Huntley, George F., Esq., Mus. Doc., Cantab.
- Hurdle, H. A., Esq., A.R.A.M. (Weymouth).
- *Jervis-Read, H. V., Esq., A.R.A.M. (Winchester).
- *Karlyle, C. E., Esq.
- Kidner, W. J., Esq. (Bristol).
- *Kilburn, N., Esq., Mus. Bac., Cantab.
- Knox, Brownlow D., Esq.
- *Koenig, Madame Rose.
- Langley, George, Esq.
- *Lee, E. Markham, Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc., Cantab.
- *Letts, Chas., Esq.
- Linton, Miss Alice M., L.R.A.M., A.R.C.M.
- Littleton, Alfred H., Esq.
- *Lloyd, Chas. H., Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc., Oxon. (Windsor).
- *Lowe, C. Egerton, Esq.
- Macfarren, Walter, Esq. (*Vice-President*).
- *Mackenzie, Sir Alexander C., Mus. D., St. And., Cantab. Edin. et Leeds, LL.D., D.C.L., &c., Principal of the Royal Academy of Music.
- *Maclean, Charles, Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc., Oxon. (*Vice-President*).
- *Maitland, J. A. Fuller, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
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- Martyn, Saml. S., Esq., Mus. Bac., Oxon.
- *Matthew, James E., Esq.
- *McMillan, John, Esq.
- *McNaught, W. G., Esq., F.R.A.M., Mus. Doc., Cantuar.
- *Miller, George Elliot, Esq.
- Morley, Charles, Esq., M.P.
- *Mountain, Thos., Esq.
- Naylor, Edward W., Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc., Cantab. (Cambridge).
- *Newmarch, Mrs. Henry.
- Nicholson, Alfred J., Esq.
- Nicholson, Sydney H., Esq., M.A., Mus. B., Oxon.
- *Niecks, Fr., Esq., Mus. Doc., Dub., Prof. Mus. Univ. Edin. (Edinburgh).
- *Ohlenschlager, Miss C.
- *Parry, Sir C. Hubert H., Bart., Mus. Doc., Oxon., Cantab., Dublin et Leeds, Prof. Mus. Univ. Oxf., Director Roy. Coll. Mus. (*President*).

- *Pearce, Chas. W., Esq., Mus. Doc., Cantab.
 Perceval, Miss Caroline, Mus. Bac., R.U.I.
 Pimm, Thomas, Esq.
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 *Powlett, Hon. A. L. Orde.
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 *Rüffer, Maurice, Esq.
 St. Leger, Wm. Douglas, Esq. (Madras).
 *Sawyer, Frank J., Esq., Mus. Doc., Oxon. (Brighton).
 *Schlesinger, Miss Kathleen.
 *Scholes, Percy A., Esq. (S. Africa).
 *Shaw-Hellier, Col. T. B. (Wolverhampton).
 *Shedlock, Jas. S., Esq., B.A.
 *Sheppard, W. J., Esq., M.D.
 *Sidebotham, J. W., Esq., Mus. Bac., Oxon.
 Silverwood, William, Esq.
 Sloman, Miss Hester Vaughan, A.R.C.M. (Mrs. H. Stansfeld Prior).
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 Smith, W. Macdonald, Esq.
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 *Southgate, Thos. Lea, Esq.
 Spooner-Lillingston, Rev. S. E. L., M.A., Mus. Bac., Oxon.
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 Taylor, Franklin, Esq. (Windsor).
 Taylor, John, Esq.
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 *Tovey, Donald Francis, Esq., B.A.
 Treherne, George G. T., Esq.
 *Trotter, T. H. Yorke, Esq., M.A., Mus. Doc., Oxon.
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 *Webb, F. Gilbert, Esq.
 Wedmore, Edmund T., Esq. (Bristol).
 Welch, W., Esq., M.A.
 *Werner, Miss Hildegard, A.J.I. (Newcastle-on-Tyne).
 *Westerby, Herbert, Esq., Mus. B. Lond. (Middlesbrough).
 Westropp, Mrs., A.T.C.L. (Limerick).
 Widdows, A., Esq.
 *Williams, C. F. Abdy, Esq., M.A., Mus. Bac., Cantab. et Oxon.
 *Williams, Ernest Victor, Esq.
 Williams, Miss E. M.
 *Willmott, Miss E. A.
 Woodgate, Miss Sophia L.
 *Wooldridge, H. Ellis, Esq., M.A.
 Woolley, Miss (N.S. Wales).
 Wotton, Tom S., Esq.
 *Wyndham, Hon. Hugh A. (S. Africa).
 Yeatman, Harry O., Esq.

Those who are also Members of the International Musical Society are indicated by * to their names.

THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION

(INCORPORATED 1904).

REPORT.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF MEMBERS WAS HELD
ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1903, AT THE ROYAL
COLLEGE OF ORGANISTS,

Sir C. HUBERT H. PARRY, Bart., in the Chair.

The following REPORT of the Council was read by the Secretary:—

THE Council beg leave to present their Report of the
29th Session.

Papers have been read by Miss Ilona de Györy, Mr. Herbert Westerby, Mr. Gustav Ernest, Mrs. Newmarch, Rev. F. W. Galpin, Mr. James E. Matthew, Dr. A. Madeley Richardson, and Professor Niecks. The Council present their best thanks to these ladies and gentlemen for their contributions, as also to Mr. and Mrs. Henry J. Wood and Mr. C. E. Ford for their kind assistance with illustrations, and to Mr. J. E. Matthew for receiving the members at his residence, 100, Fellows Road, N.W., on the occasion of the April Meeting. The papers, with the discussions thereon, have been printed in the annual volume of Proceedings.

The Council have pleasure in reporting that the Membership has kept up to the same high level as last year—several new Members having been elected in the course of the Session—but nevertheless would still impress upon Members the desirability of using their best efforts and personal influence in the work of increasing the Association's sphere of usefulness.

The attendance at the monthly Meetings has been satisfactory.

The Annual Dinner took place at the Holborn Restaurant on November 11, 1902, when Sir C. Hubert H. Parry, Bart., presided over a large gathering of Members and their friends. Special mention may be made of the programme, which on this occasion was almost entirely composed of ancient music by J. S. Bach, Dr. Arne, Dr. Blow, Henry Purcell, Robert Johnson and Christopher Simpson.

Invitations were kindly extended by the "Wagner Denkmal Comité" to Members of the Association to attend the Festivities which took place in Berlin from September 30 to October 4, on the occasion of unveiling the Wagner Memorial in that city, and thirty-six ladies and gentlemen finally accepted the invitation. The Association is the only musical body which received such an invitation.

In accordance with the Rules, the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Hon. Officers and five Ordinary Members of Council—Mr. Clifford B. Edgar, Dr. Charles W. Pearce, Mr. A. H. D. Prendergast, Mr. T. L. Southgate, and Mr. J. F. R. Stainer—retire from office.

The Council submit the following nominations:—The President and retiring Vice-Presidents, and Hon. Officers as before, with the addition of Mr. A. H. D. Prendergast to be a Vice-President. As Ordinary Members of Council: Mr. Clifford B. Edgar, Mr. T. L. Southgate, Mr. J. F. R. Stainer, Mr. W. Barclay Squire, and Mr. F. Gilbert Webb.

The adoption of the Report was moved by Mr. Clifford B. Edgar, seconded by Mr. W. Harding Bonner, and carried unanimously.

THE Hon. Treasurer presented the Audited Balance Sheet. On the motion of Sir Frederick Bridge, seconded by Mr. Southgate, it was passed unanimously.

The Election of Officers resulted as follows:—The President and the retiring Vice-Presidents were re-elected, and Mr. A. H. D. Prendergast was elected a Vice-President; Mr. Clifford B. Edgar, Mr. J. F. R. Stainer, and Mr. T. L. Southgate were re-elected, and Mr. W. Barclay Squire and Mr. F. Gilbert Webb were elected Ordinary Members of Council. The Hon. Officers were re-elected.

Votes of thanks to the various Officers for their services during the year, and to the Chairman, concluded the Meeting.

After the close of the Annual General Meeting a Special General Meeting was held, in order to consider the following resolution, which was proposed by Mr. Southgate and seconded by Mr. Edgar:—

“That the Council be and is hereby authorized to take the necessary steps towards Incorporating the Musical Association.”

After some discussion, in the course of which Mr. Blaikley and Mr. Bonner offered some remarks in support of the resolution, it was carried *nem. con.*, and the Meeting closed.

THE MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.

Income and Expenditure from November 5, 1902, to November 5, 1903.

1902. Nov. 5.	Dr.	£ s. d.			Cr.	£ s. d.		
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Balance in Hand	61 18 4	By Printing and Stationery:—	...	...	...
" Subscriptions:—					Novello & Co., Ltd. (Proceedings)	91	0	0
" 1899-1900 (2)		2	2	0	" (Postages on do.)	3	4	3
" 1900-1901 (5)		5	5	0	" (Do. 1901-2)	3	3	1
" 1901-1902 (13)		13	13	0	" (Circulars, etc.)	2	16	9
" 1902-1903 (137)		143	17	0	" (Sundry Printing)	0	13	0
" 1903-1904 (16)		16	16	0	C. F. Thorn	19	0	6
Dividends	181 13 0	W. H. Dawe	1	13	0
" Sale of Proceedings	11 16 8	W. H. Franklin (Engraving)	2	5	0
" Receipts for Dinner, Nov., 1902 (73 at 5/-)	6 17 10	C. Jaques & Son (Invitation Cards)	1	12	6
" Internationale Musikgesellschaft account:—				18 5 0		125	8	1
Subscriptions 1900-1901 (1)		0	10	0	" Expenses of Session, 1902-1903:—			
" 1901-1902 (6)		3	0	0	R. C. O. (Hire of Hall)	7	7	0
" 1902-1903 (83)		31	10	0	Austen (Refreshments)	7	18	0
" per Bank (8)		4	0	0	Broadwood (Piano)	0	10	6
" 1903-1904 (12)		6	0	0	Dr. Walker (Reporting)	8	8	0
				45 0 0		24	3	6
					" Postages and Petty Expenses:—			
					(Secretary, £12 8s. 3d.; Treasurer, 13s. 9d.)	13	2	0
					Bank Expenses	...	...	0 4 2
					Secretary's Salary	...	...	30 0 0
					" Expenses of Dinner:—			
					Holborn Restaurant	19	15	0
					Miss Dolmetsch	2	2	0
					Broadwood (Piano)	1	1	0
						22	18	0
					" Treasurers of I.M.G.	...	...	46 10 0
					" Balance in Hand	...	...	63 5 1
						£325	10	10

*Examined and found correct, November 6, 1903.
(Signed) C. BOWDLER.*

NOTICE.

Papers or short communications for the Monthly Meetings are received from or through Members; these and suggestions as to suitable subjects and capable writers will be gladly considered by the Council.

Members are desired to make the Association and its objects as widely known as possible. The Secretary will forward Prospectuses and Nomination Forms on application.

Members preferring to do so can pay their subscriptions through their Bankers. A form for this purpose may be obtained of the Secretary.

Any change of address should be promptly notified to the Secretary, as occasional complaints of the non-receipt of books and notices are usually traceable to either old or insufficient addresses.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

At a Special General Meeting held on February 13, 1900, the following Resolution was passed: "That the Council be and is hereby authorised to add to the title of the Musical Association on its publications and prospectuses till further notice the words 'In connection with the International Musical Society.'"

The English Committee of the latter Society (International Musical Society) consists of: Sir Hubert Parry, Bart. (President), Mr. Otto Goldschmidt (Vice-President), Sir Frederick Bridge, Dr. Cummings, Mr. W. H. Hadow, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Dr. Maclean, Mr. Fuller Maitland, Dr. McNaught, Professor Niecks, Professor Prout, Mr. Barclay Squire, Professor Sir C. Villiers Stanford, Mr. Sedley Taylor. The Society publishes a monthly Journal and quarterly Magazine, employing four languages, with the object of promoting interchange between different countries of information and opinions concerning the history, art, and science of music.

Papers read before The Musical Association will, in addition to ordinary publication in The Musical Association's own Proceedings volume, be published also in the pages of the International Musical Society, if accepted for that purpose.

Owing to the long-standing position of the Musical Association, members thereof are admitted as members of the International Musical Society on very special terms, which can be ascertained from the Secretary of the Musical Association.

W. H. CUMMINGS, ESQ., MUS.D., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

THE PRINCIPLES OF VOWEL PRONUNCIATION.

BY W. A. AIKIN, M.D.

To build a bridge between the art of music and the physical and physiological sciences of sound was the task that Helmholtz set himself when he entered upon the classical work which has served ever since as the basis of all research in this field. How far he succeeded in accomplishing his object we need not discuss here, but he certainly laid the foundation of a very extensive practical science, devoted alone to the investigation of the laws of sound in all the varied forms in which we meet them in music. The phonologist, as he should be called who is occupied with this study, finds himself, however, in a somewhat isolated situation. The schools of experimental physics are generally too busy with electricity and kindred subjects to give much thought to sound, although the telephone and phonograph have to some extent forced their attention in that direction. Among physiologists, very few are occupied with sound, and the peculiar skill required in studying the vocal organs, which has necessitated the formation of a special branch of medicine, diminishes their number still further.

On the musical side, the musical instrument makers are more influenced by rule-of-thumb traditions than by scientific principles, and the average musician is generally neither inclined nor qualified to interest himself in the physical causes of the sounds he produces. I do not make this a matter of complaint; it helps rather to define the position of the phonologist, whose *raison d'être* is as an intermediary between exact science and musical art. And the artist need not fear that the bridge might be made use of for an invasion of his own province, for science only deals with the perfection of the materials and means of expression, and not with the expression itself.

But with regard to the subject upon which I have the privilege of addressing you to day, the circumstances are not quite like this.

Many musicians are called upon to train the voice, and in undertaking to do so they step out of their purely musical position and deal directly with the physical and physiological problems which have to do with the growth and development of the vocal organs.

This is a more scientific calling, and one in which phonology is very closely concerned. There are two aspects of the voice

question—the empirical and the rational. A musician—or, I should say, a singer—may adopt the former, and so long as his model is above reproach there is no reason why he should not pursue it, relying upon the faculty of imitation as his sole means of instruction. On the other hand he may require a firmer foundation for what he proposes to teach, and has to look into the causes and conditions which promote the perfect development of the organs and of their functions in producing beautiful sound. Therefore I need not hesitate to ask you to go deeply into the principles upon which are founded such important vocal phenomena as the vowel sounds.

In order to avoid misunderstanding we must see clearly before us what this instrument is, the sound of which we recognize as the human voice.

At the top of the windpipe is inserted the vocal reed. Above that there are certain air chambers in the neck, in the mouth, and in the nose, forming a resonator. This is an arrangement with which we are somewhat familiar in organ-building, if we compare it with a reed pipe, consisting of reed and resonance chamber. The resemblance is true in a general sense, and although our reed and resonator are different from any others met with outside the body, they are each governed by the ordinary physical principles.

The reed is very powerful, and by an organised system of tension and relaxation can vary its rate of vibration, so as to produce a note of any pitch within a certain compass.

The resonator is comparatively weak, and has no influence on the pitch of the reed note, but by varying its own shape it has the power of completely changing the character of the sound.

Therefore, for analytical purposes, we may regard the voice-sound as being compounded of two factors—reed notes of distinctive pitch and resonant notes of distinctive quality. From the former we obtain the cadence and musical phrase, and from the latter all the effects recognised as speech, and we carry out this principle in song by writing a line of notes for the reed to perform, and underneath it a line of words to be performed simultaneously by the resonator.

With this clearly in view, there can be no question as to my meaning when I define a vowel-sound as the phonological effect of a position of the resonator.

Custom and tradition have fixed upon certain positions of the resonator each with its own characteristic resonant quality for the continuous sounds which form the basis of word formation.

Every position of the resonator yields its characteristic resonant note with a pitch corresponding to its size, and a quality corresponding to its form.

In the ordinary full voice this resonant note is added to the reed note quite regardless of any relation which may or may not exist between them. Any of the reed notes can act as the exciting cause of the resonant note, as we know from the fact that so long as the resonator is stationary we can sing two octaves or more of semitones and give to each the same vowel character.

The reed note is in itself a very complex sound, and the resonant note is no less so, so that all those phenomena which have to do with the agreement of a resonance chamber with the primary note or upper partials of a reed, are beyond estimation in the voice, so we frankly regard the two elements as being mixed or added to one another.

If we take away the reed note we can examine the functions of the resonator by themselves. This we do in the whispering voice when the resonant notes alone are excited by the rushing sound made by the breath as it passes quickly through the reed in its half-open, non-vibrating position.

In proceeding to analyse the vowel sounds in this manner we are met at the outset by a particular difficulty. Who is to say how a vowel—for instance, A (ah)—should be pronounced? There are not only national, dialectic, and even personal differences in its pronunciation, but it is also possible for anyone to vary the sound of it to a considerable extent without destroying its distinctive character. With so much latitude for choice, I am therefore bound to describe accurately the position which I select for A (ah) before I go on to analyse it.

The jaw open quite an inch between front teeth.

The lips at rest upon the teeth, not retracted at the sides.

The tongue flat on the floor of the mouth with its tip and margins against the lower teeth all round. Its base depressed enough to give a view of the back of the throat.

The palate raised only so far as to exclude any excess of nasal quality.

The pharynx fully expanded by the following actions:—

Head and back erect.

Ribs expanded.

Larynx drawn gently downwards without strain.

This becomes very technical at once—but it has to be faced, since we must know what it is we are investigating. And I must go farther, even to the minuter anatomy of the resonator in this position, before I can hope to show you what the phonological principles of this vowel are, and why I choose to pronounce it in this way.

Where the resonator begins, immediately above the reed, the pharynx is at its widest, and forms with the cavity of the larynx an irregular bag—the upper part of which enters the

back of the mouth by a somewhat narrowed oval opening behind the base of the tongue. This cavity can be enlarged by the act of drawing the larynx downwards and forwards, and by keeping forward the base of the tongue, but it is always wide below and narrow above or, roughly, pyramidal.

The cavity of the mouth in the selected position is somewhat hemispherical. The dome of the palate is the roof, the flat tongue is the floor. There is a prolongation on either side into the cheeks. The opening of the lips in front is larger than the opening between the tonsils at the back, and smaller than the internal dimensions of the cavity.

Thus we have two cavities joining one another at right-angles by a narrow opening. Near their point of junction they communicate with a third cavity, the nose, which we are not going to consider now, as it takes no part in the formation of the simple vowel sounds.

The importance of this closer inspection of the resonator lies in the fact that it is now seen to be what is known in phonology as a "double resonator."

The two chambers composing a double resonator cannot resound in the same way in which they would when free. In fact they are so interdependent that only when their resonant notes are in some sort of agreement can they be good resonators. Their resonant sound-waves meet at the constricted opening between them, forming a "node," and this "node" is strongest and resonance most complete when the sound-waves are either synchronous or simply related.

The resonator which I find most convenient for demonstration is my own. The pitch of the resonant note that I obtain from it for A (ah) is c'' , *i.e.*, the third space in the treble clef.

The tuning fork with which I verify this is c'' ($=512$); that is, of what I am inclined to call "the true vocal" pitch, and not the pitch of the present day, which is based upon an unreasonable compromise with the artificial wind instruments. But that is part of another story.

The node is demonstrated by bringing the fork into the back of the throat. It will be noticed that the reinforcement of the fork note only occurs when I take the trouble to expand the pharynx.

A glance at the diagrams and also the model of an estimated cast of the cavities will confirm the evidence in favour of a "double resonator." I take particular care over this point because it is not in accord with Helmholtz, who gave as the shape for the vowel A "a funnel increasing with tolerable uniformity from the larynx to the lips." Had Helmholtz lived to go a little farther into this subject he would have been the first to discover that this was an anatomical error.

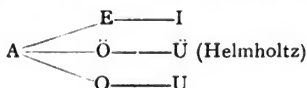
From this we are entitled to regard the resonator in a fully expanded position for A as being composed of two associated resonance chambers tuned in unison, in this case to c" (= 512).

But what is to me a more serious matter, is that my next step is also a contradiction of the same observer. He found the resonant pitches of A the same in men, women and children ("Tonempfindungen," Cap. V., 7). I do not. Not only are the measurements of the resonator in women on an average about 20 per cent. smaller than in men, but I have invariably found the resonant pitch of A higher, and usually about a minor third, that is on e''^h, which has a wave-length about 20 per cent. shorter than c". The only explanation I can offer is that I do not use artificial resonators to assist my hearing, as Helmholtz did. I have myself found them on occasions most misleading. It must be remembered also that no two of the older physiologists were in agreement in this matter, and that not one of them gave any details of the manner in which A (ah) should be pronounced.

Helmholtz's artificial resonators are in the form of spheres with small openings, and tuned to particular pitches. They are very sensitive, so much so that I found it impossible to use them in the laboratory at King's College, on the Thames Embankment, because they sounded continuously, being affected by the noise of the traffic in the Strand. Therefore I am not surprised that errors have been made. Moreover, Helmholtz made his observations upon the vowel sounds accompanied by the complex note of the reed, which brings in another element of uncertainty. His estimate of the pitch of the resonance of A was b''^h. That is a seventh higher than mine. I can make that resonance in my mouth, but only by constricting my throat and cutting off the resonance of the neck chamber. With my throat open and tongue depressed I can make the resonance an octave lower —b''^h—but do not obtain the "node" at the back of the mouth, because I cannot expand the pharynx sufficiently to give a note synchronising with so low a pitch. Thus I am led to conclude that there is an advantage in my selecting a position of the resonator for the vowel A which gives a resonant note with the pitch of c", because that appears to be the lowest, and therefore most expanded, that I can use comfortably, and at the same time re-duplicate in the neck.

By adopting a similar method of pronunciation, a resonant note can be found, for every individual voice, which presents the same phonological advantages for the position of the vowel A. The variations among men are only to the extent of a few semitones, and a similar variation exists also among women, whose resonances are on an average a minor third higher.

Taking the vowel A as the central or basic resonance—



the changes in form necessary to produce the other vowels are effected principally in two ways:—

- (1) By reducing the opening of the lips ;
- (2) By bringing forwards and upwards the base of the tongue, and so changing the internal shape of the mouth cavity.

In every case the jaw should remain open to the extent of about an inch in order to preserve a good resonant cavity in the mouth.

1. While the jaw remains open, the lips are brought together in a rounded form so as to assume four positions or degrees of closure, producing three kinds of O and U as in the English words:—

Ah, On, Or, Oh, Who.

each of which lowers the resonant pitch by reason of the degree of closure of the opening. By establishing the pitch of U on a resonance a fifth lower than A, the three O's are accommodated upon the intervening notes. Thus are obtained the first five notes of what I have called the "resonator scale":—

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
U	O ¹	O ²	O ³	A
as in—Who	Oh	Or	On	Ah

It is an interesting physiological fact that in forming these vowels not only do the lips close the front opening, but there is also a slight elevation of the base of the tongue as well as a further depression of the larynx. Both these actions lower the resonant pitch of the back chamber, and it is in this way that the unison of the two chambers is preserved.

2. In the second series, the same opening of the jaw being maintained and the tip of the tongue being kept against the lower teeth, the base of the tongue rises upwards and forwards, taking positions which raise the resonant pitch of the mouth successively through the notes of a major scale. In this way I obtain satisfactory forms for the remaining seven simple vowel-sounds in English:—

V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.
A					E		I
Ah	Up	Er	At	Ell	Ale	Ill	Eel

RESONATOR SCALE ON C".

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.
U (oo)	O ¹	O ²	O ³	A (ah)				ē	E (eh)	i	I (ee)
English examples: } who	oh	or	hot	Ah	up	her	bat	ell	ale	ill	eel

But when the pharynx is expanded these actions not only lessen the capacity of the front chamber, but also increase the capacity of the back one. Therefore while the resonant pitch of the front rises, that of the back falls.

It is as if the division between the two chambers were shifted forward, making them no longer equal as regards their resonance.

The first movement, however, does little more than enlarge the opening between them, as the base of the tongue moves principally forwards, and instead of two chambers differing very slightly, which would be a bad phonological arrangement, I find both chambers still in unison at vi., but a tone higher than v., which is the natural consequence of enlarging the communication between the two components of a double resonator. At the next step, vii., disparity is more marked, and I can generally hear an interval of a third. After that, on viii. and ix., they diverge still more, and on x. arrive at the relation of an octave. This brings about the first simple relation of 1 : 2 for the formation of the pure vowel E.

On xi. the relation is a tenth, and on xii. I obtain a second simple relation of 1 : 3 for the vowel I, namely a twelfth.

It is a noteworthy feature of the resonator scale that the vowel sounds E and I are found to possess resonance chambers in such perfect phonological relation, and there can be no doubt that a property of such value is an explanation of the importance of these vowel sounds in every language.

The resonator scale in its complete form consists of twelve notes, extending from a fifth below to an octave above the keynote or resonant pitch of A. The first six notes, i.—vi. are in unison, but from vii.—xii. the lower or back resonances fall, while the upper or front resonances rise until they reach their point of extreme divergence, viz., a twelfth.

It will be seen that only the simple vowel sounds have places on the resonator scale. The compound sounds are expressed by a movement from one position to another.

The English I, pronounced 'eye,' is a passage from the sound of the unaccented A, as in 'alone,' to the short I, as in 'hit,' and is expressed by the numbers vi.—xi.

The English U, pronounced 'yew,' is a sliding movement from I to U, and is written xi.—i.

The English A, pronounced 'eh,' is not a pure E on x., but has a slight I after it: x.—xi.

The English O, pronounced 'oh,' is not quite a pure sound on ii., but is followed by a suspicion of U (oo), as ii.—i.

The English E (ee) is practically equivalent to I on XII.

The varieties of those which are written with two letters are so numerous that only a few can be given :—

Ow as in 'how' is Ah—oo: $\widehat{v.-i.}$

Oy „ 'boy' is or—i: $\widehat{III.-XI.}$

Oa „ 'boat' is the nearest equivalent to a pure O¹ on II.

Au as in 'naught' is O² like Italian O on III.; &c., &c.

The resonator scale is a practical system of using the resonant pitches in fixing for the vowels positions with good phonological properties. Like all other elements of speech, it has to be acquired by education. I do not myself regard it as quite an arbitrary arrangement, for its design touches too nearly those fundamental principles which must have been important factors in the evolution of the human convention which we inherit and perpetuate in the form of language.

This must be clearly remembered, for it touches the first principle of what a vowel sound actually is. Helmholtz was amongst those who were inclined to regard the resonant pitch as being the characteristic feature of the vowel effect. Further investigations have since shown, however, that such a view is untenable, because the resonant pitch varies in individuals, in different sexes and ages, according to the size of the resonance chambers. But it appears to be necessary for the resonator to assume something approaching a common shape for every vowel. For instance, in the case of A it is the fact that the resonator has a fairly wide opening in front, and O and U a relatively more closed one, that enables us to distinguish their particular characters. In phonological language it is the form of the resonant vibrations, and not their frequency, which must be regarded as the determining cause of the vowel character. So we must be careful not to regard the resonator scale as anything more than a guide to suitable positions for the vowel sounds, by arranging their resonant pitches in a series of definite relations to the central resonance of A.

Another important point to realise is that the formation of vowels by virtue of its shape is not the only function of the resonator. It also plays the important part of reinforcing the upper partials of the reed note. I say the upper partials because you will have noticed that the lowest resonant pitch in an average man's voice is that of U on f' (the first space in the treble clef), which is generally the highest note to which his vocal reed can reach; so that he very rarely obtains reinforcements of a primary tone—namely, only when singing U or I with a fully expanded resonator upon the note f'.

The strong reinforcement of the octave when singing A on c' and O² (or) and E on a' is often noticeable.

In a woman's voice it occurs more often that the primary note may be reinforced, but this is part of another subject and does not belong to vowel formation. I only mention it to show why it is good to have deep resonant notes for the vowels in order that they may the more enrich the sound of the voice by adding lower tones to the compound.

In the time at my disposal it will not be possible to follow out the application of the resonator scale to pronunciation in detail. Hitherto we have had no phonological system of voice formation, and have relied entirely upon the imitation of certain traditions. In teaching children imitation will always be the only means at our disposal, but we can at all events give them good models to imitate. I have been able to hear the scale in children as young as twelve or fourteen after a little practice with the mouth propped open; but so small a resonator has very high resonances which are difficult to estimate. Adults who have already formed their own pronunciation have the advantage of greater control over their speech organs than children have. So far I have not met with any up to and past middle age who could not with a little patience acquire vowel forms approaching those of the resonator scale. It is always advisable to fix the pitch of the scale as low as can be used comfortably.

With practice the pitch will probably fall a semitone or so owing to the increased power of expanding the pharynx which comes with a fuller expansion of the breathing organs.

The effect of a well-developed resonator upon the voice will be readily understood by those who have studied the structure of other musical instruments. Many people have good resonators, but fail to use them properly. Others have badly-developed resonators and can therefore never make agreeable singers or speakers however they may learn to vocalise. Such facts become apparent when the whispered resonances are carefully analysed.

In bringing this subject to your notice, my object has been to show how real principles can be introduced into the training of the voice, how important it is to learn to speak before you attempt to sing, and how the system of whispered resonances in the resonator scale may be applied in preparing the voice for its later development in song.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are very much indebted to our lecturer for the interesting discourse he has given us. I am quite sure you have had no difficulty in recognizing the sounds to which he has called your attention. It seems to me, however, that the thing that is proved most indisputably is that the Almighty has given us a very marvellous organ. We know that every room has a particular resonant note, which is invariable for that particular place. And there, I think, is the difference between the room and the human voice. The Almighty has given us a resonance chamber which we can enlarge and contract at will. I think that those old masters of the days of Tosi in the early part of the 18th century were the best masters, because they were able to exemplify to their pupils what was the right thing to do. I do not think we are going quite in the right direction when singers and non-singers take up scientific instruments and misuse them. I have met in my own experience a scientist who used a laryngoscope and took observations in a mirror whilst vocalizing, and when he came to me he had scarcely a note left. All the music he made was so detestable that I advised him never to try to sing again. And I think if a vocalist were to try to bring out sounds by this whispering method he would get hoarse. But do remember what our lecturer said about the proper position of the tongue. I received from America a book entitled "New Lessons on Singing," and it said that in England the teaching of singing was most faulty, for they taught the people to sing with the tongue depressed; it should be "humped up." I am quite sure the writer was not a singer. The description we have had of the right position of the tongue is just as it should be; as was also what was said about the opening of the mouth. I believe our greatest singers are not those who have the best vocal chords, but those who have the best resonators. I know a lady who has a most beautiful voice, but her resonator is so small that it would be useless for her to attempt to sing in a large hall.

DR. MACLEAN.—May I ask a question in default of making a remark? I think the lecturer has clearly shown that certain vowel sounds go with certain pitches of the resonance of the upper and lower cavities. I am ready to assume this is true of most people. But I would like to ask if the lecturer could tell us what is the next step? How does he proceed from that whispering voice to the real voice, either in demonstration, or teaching, or practice, or anything else?

MR. SOUTHGATE.—I take it that the result the lecturer produces with the tuning-fork is caused by sympathy between the note of the fork and that of the resonance chamber. I should like to ask if he would be good enough to put an *f'* tuning-fork to his mouth when he pronounces the *ah* (I say the *f'* because it is farthest from the note *c''*, and therefore has not any very close relation to it), so that we may see whether it affects the resonance chamber and if we get anything like a clear resonant vibration from it. I should like to ask also about the connection between the whispering and the speaking voice. It is quite clear that something takes place in the throat; you have only to note what happens in the throat in the two cases: whisper a sentence, and then speak it, and you will find a very great change has taken place in the position of the organs. We can readily feel the alteration of position of the walls of the throat, and the shifting that has taken place.

MR. BLAILEY. - Let me say that I have not heard a lecture for twenty-five years that I have more thoroughly enjoyed. With regard to the model of the interior of the resonance chambers that we have been shown, I think it is exceedingly interesting, because the statement of Helmholtz, that when the vowel *ah* is sounded the resonance chambers are practically in form of a cone opening outwards, has always been a stumbling-block to me. It did not seem at all consistent with the requirements of the case. You may take this as a general principle that the resonant note of a conical chamber which is broader in its lower than at its upper or open end is lower than that of a cylindrical tube of the same length, and still lower is it than the note of a tube which is expanded outwardly or towards the mouth. Therefore there is a power of resonance to the lower notes, in a man's voice more especially, that would be utterly inconceivable if the form of the resonator were a cone spreading continuously outward. Of course, at the best it is only a partial resonance; but it is much greater than it would be if the form were as described by Helmholtz. I think this difference between the whispered note and the spoken vowel may be regarded thus: When a note is whispered we have the resonating cavities in a position to give the maximum resonance to that particular note. When we sing a note, the resonating cavities are only at odd times adapted to giving maximum resonance to the note produced by the vocal chords; they may give the maximum resonance to one or more of the upper partials, but they seldom give maximum resonance to the fundamental. With regard to the interdependence between the vocal chords and the resonance chamber the same thing may be observed in many musical instruments. You may have a reed-pipe with a reed of a certain stiffness, and that pipe may not give a good resonance,

whereas if you shorten or lengthen the pipe it may give a more ready speech. A strong reed has the power of controlling the comparatively slight mass of the air-column; on the other hand, a heavy air-column, as we see in the bassoon, has considerable power in controlling the pitch of the reed, even if the latter is not controlled by the varying pressure of the lips. I suppose there is hardly a case where there is no influence of control by a small resonance chamber over even a comparatively powerful reed. If you increase the size of the resonator you must lower the resulting pitch to some extent. But speaking generally, the strong reed controls the pitch, notwithstanding the shape of the resonator. On the other hand, a larger resonance-chamber will control a light reed.

DR. AIKIN.—There are many questions that have been raised this afternoon, and I should like to answer them all. As to what should be done in the way of proceeding to vocal notes when the resonator is firmly established, I pointed out that the two instruments must be regarded as entirely distinct. What I hold is that you should learn to speak before you learn to sing, for song is glorified speech. I begin by making people whisper these resonances very clearly till I hear the resonator scale. Then they go on to words, so as to associate with them the consonants, until their resonators move quite freely, as if you were making the most of your vocal utterance without making any vocal sound at all. Then learn to keep your resonator still, and gradually introduce vocal notes into it. Do not let us mix up resonant notes with vocal notes; they are quite distinct. We have not been attempting vocalisation so far, and when I put these resonances here I meant the resonant notes that I have in my resonator for those particular vowels. I was taught the position of the vowel *ah* many years ago. If you follow the regulations that I have laid down for its pronunciation you cannot alter the resonant pitch very much—perhaps a semitone. I can whisper the *ah* perhaps a tone or two tones higher, but I alter the character of the vowel. We can then sing the whole compass of our voices on these vowel sounds placed as they are in the positions that give these resonant notes. All that I did was to keep the resonator still, so that we had added to every note of the vocal reed a definite sounding resonant note which gave it the character of *ah*. As to the whispering voice and the speaking voice, I think I have almost answered that. You have to learn to whisper just as you have to learn to take up these positions for the vowels. You blow a current of air through a good position of the vowel; that is what we all learn when we are trying to sing. So having got that we introduce our vocal sound into it and play on the other instrument also. There is a point to consider about vocal pitch and resonant

pitch. You notice that the resonant pitch of my *ah* is *c''*. That of my *oo* is *f'*. This is also the highest note of my voice. No man of ordinary voice can reach with his vocal reed a note in which he gets reinforcement of his primary reed-notes. When I sing that *f'* on *oo* it is the only possible instance I have of obtaining a vocal note that agrees with the resonant pitch. With a woman's voice it is rather different; they can get reinforcement of their primary note as soon as they reach *a''* on *oo*. All through a man's compass the resonator is reinforcing upper partials only, never the primary note. When we sing a scale we feel a little additional resonance on certain notes, and you may pick out in a singer's voice certain notes which are better or worse for certain vowels than others. The stronger your resonance the more marked these differences may probably become, but they never become so important as to interfere with the actual primary vibrations of the reed. In the human voice it does not alter the pitch, though it must alter the character to some extent. So we may say that if you have good resonance chambers you probably have a good voice, and I believe that it is of less consequence for the voice to have very efficient vocal chords than very efficient resonators.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I think we have one very pleasant duty to perform, and that is to return a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Aikin. I am very much obliged to him, and I am sure you are also. We have had an interesting discussion, and I hope we shall go home and think about it.

(The vote of thanks was then passed by acclamation.)

DECEMBER 8, 1903.

DR. F. G. SHINN,

IN THE CHAIR.

HECTOR BERLIOZ.

By TOM S. WOTTON.

IN this paper I propose to deal with Berlioz the musician, rather than with Berlioz the man: firstly, because in this his centenary year we have most of us had our memories refreshed with the main details of his life; and secondly, because even now, a hundred years after his birth, there are many things connected with his music or his ideas on music which are either misconstrued or imperfectly understood.

Therefore I am going to speak of Berlioz the musician!

Perhaps of all the great composers, he was the most unfortunate in his early musical surroundings! Up to the age of eighteen he had heard no music of a higher class than Pleyel's Quartets, rendered by amateurs, and had never heard an orchestra!—a strange training for one who proved himself to be such a consummate master in the art of orchestration! Then, in his student days, from 1822 to 1830, Paris was hardly the place best suited for a young musician of his temperament and aspirations. Until more than six years after his arrival in the Capital, when the concerts of the Conservatoire were started, there was no symphonic music of any importance to be heard.

At the first of these concerts, on March 9, 1828, Beethoven's "Eroica," the first of his Symphonies to be heard in Paris, formed part of the programme, and we may be sure that it was no mere coincidence that towards the end of that year Berlioz set about writing a symphony of his own.

Of Bach, Handel, and Haydn, nothing, or practically nothing, was known in Paris at that time; of Mozart, "the greatest musician of the world," as Berlioz called him, only

a mutilated version of "Don Giovanni" and an equally perverted one of "Zauberflöte"; while Weber fared as badly with a distorted arrangement of "Der Freischütz." It is true that at the Opera Berlioz was able to hear the masterpieces of his idol, Glück, and "La Vestale" and "Olympie" by Spontini, another of his favourites; but the majority of the works presented were either by Rossini and his imitators, or by composers whose operas, if not their names, are now forgotten.

I have omitted Cherubini from my list, because during this period none of his works were given at the Opera, and, occupied with his duties as Head of the Conservatoire, he produced few new compositions of any description.

I am not suggesting that there was no good music produced in Paris during those nine years, for such works as "Guillaume Tell," "Masaniello," and "La Dame Blanche" are all masterpieces in their way; but their way was not the way of Berlioz, who, while not absolutely Teutonic in his ideas, was far removed from the elegancies of the French and Italian schools of that time.

Paris in those days was emphatically not the best place for the education of such a one as Berlioz, and we can perhaps best judge of its musical condition from the record of two of his failures to gain the "Prix de Rome."

On one occasion the pianist deputed to interpret his score on the piano made such a hopeless failure of it that it was announced to be "unplayable," and naturally gained no prize. It seems strange that such men as Auber, Cherubini, Catel, Lesueur, and Boieldieu should require a composition to be indifferently rendered on the piano in order to judge of its merits! but such was the rule, introduced for the benefit of those judges who were not musicians. In those days, absurdly enough, painters and sculptors had a voice in the matter.

On another occasion he lost the prize for a very peculiar reason! The subject of the cantata was "Cleopatra," and he wrote for one of the numbers rhythms and harmonies which most assuredly could not have been found in the text-books of the time. Lesueur was away ill; Auber and Cherubini damned the work with faint praise; while Boieldieu candidly admitted that such music, like that of Beethoven, was utterly beyond him. Finally, the judges decided that as a man who wrote such music must of necessity hold *their* compositions in contempt, they could not, for the sake of their own dignity, place their *imprimatur* on such a work.

In the following year he succeeded in gaining this coveted distinction, and went to Italy for fifteen months, where music, from his point of view, was absolutely non-existent: as

he said of Bizet thirty years after, "He made the journey to Rome, and returned without having forgotten music." Donizetti, Pacini, and Bellini may have their excellencies, but it is difficult to think of them in connection with the author of the "Fantastic." Beethoven, Glück, and Weber were completely unknown, while Mozart, who had been dead forty years, had been *heard of* as a "young man of promise," and Berlioz's one oasis in the musical Sahara was Mendelssohn.

But his time in Italy was not entirely wasted! Without doubt he learnt there those effects of "atmosphere" (to use the language of the painter) which we find in so many of his numbers. Well-known instances of these are in the slow movement of the "Fantastic," where in a superlative degree there is that "open-air" sensation which Sir George Grove instanced in the "Pastoral" Symphony, and we hear this effect of "atmosphere" in the first scene and in Faust's Invocation to Nature in "The Damnation of Faust." His Roman experiences, too, inspired the magnificent scene of the Carnival in "Cellini," although, as a matter of fact, he does not appear to have been much impressed by the fun when he witnessed the real thing. The "Harold" Symphony, in which we again find this "atmosphere," also depicts scenes familiar to him from his wanderings in the Abruzzi. It is true that he apparently never assisted at an Orgy of Brigands, which is represented in the last movement, but he must at times have clinked glasses with men who, if not brigands themselves, at any rate owned "sisters, or cousins, or aunts" who were in the profession.

Many of his opponents have laid great stress on the fact that he only seriously commenced studying comparatively late in life; and, on the principle that he did not know because he *could* not know, have denied him any powers of harmony and counterpoint whatsoever. This of course is merely the "playful way" of opponents! He himself admits that eighteen or nineteen is late to commence, if one previously knew nothing of the theory of music: but he was hardly in that position! Besides many songs, he had already composed a sextet and a couple of quintets, which certainly implies some amount of knowledge: and he at any rate possessed the power, which on high authority is not absolutely universal even amongst those seeking musical degrees, of reading music fluently and mentally hearing chord combinations. At the Conservatoire, as we know, he attended double the usual classes to make up for lost time. Schumann laughs at the idea of refusing him richness of harmony, and points to many happy examples of counterpoint. I am proud to say that my friend Mr. Barry, to whose admirable analyses Berlioz-lovers owe so much, has noted many more such

examples. It is true that Schumann calls attention to certain chords which he considers weak, but at the same time admits to having only the pianoforte score before him, clearly realising that orchestral harmony such as Berlioz's is not quite the same as pianoforte harmony or that of the text-books, which is founded on the idea that all the parts have the same strength and the same tone-quality. Berlioz did know harmony and counterpoint, but it was in a great measure the harmony and counterpoint of Paris at the commencement of the last century. He never completely shook off the influence of his two masters—Lesueur, with his love for Greek modes, and Reicha, who declared that his contrapuntal ability arose from his fondness for mathematics.

But whatever doubts there may be as to Berlioz's musical syntax, there can be none as to his being an artist to his fingertips, to his very marrow; and that in his love and reverence for his art he was without reproach as he certainly was without fear. Indeed, this fearlessness of his in maintaining what he believed to be the right was one of the most potent factors in his want of success in Paris.

For example, his denunciations of the arrangements and mutilations of the operas of Weber and Mozart hardly secured for him the love and affection of Castil-Blaze and others responsible for the outrages. I can recommend his scathing criticism of Lachnith's derangement of "*Zauberflöte*" both to lovers of Mozart and to those who chance to possess the fast-disappearing bump of reverence. Berlioz's anger against the "criminal," as he calls him, was the greater because Mozart was one of the masters he most admired, not indeed with the fervour he bestowed on Beethoven and Glück, but nevertheless with a very real enthusiasm.

We can imagine his amused horror many years afterwards when Madame Viardot asked him to reinstrumentate one of her airs in Glück's "*Orpheus*"! He naturally refused, comparing himself to the sergeant of the firing-party, when the condemned man knelt to him, begging to be spared:—"Ask my watch, ask my purse, ask for all that I have, but do not ask for your life!"

As a matter of course his strong objections to anyone daring to tamper with the works of the great masters included those singers who introduced trills, roulades, and the like into their parts; and he disliked these *vocalises* at any time, not so much in comedy scenes (witness his admiration for Rossini's "*Barber of Seville*") as in serious situations, where he perfectly abominated them. It is true that we find rare instances of light-hearted vocal ornaments in his own operas; but, as he never was the autocrat in the theatre which Wagner became, these were probably compulsory sopas to the singers, who in those days were not

the mildly acquiescent race they have since become. But admitting these inconsistencies, he was not so inconsistent as many of us, for he detested acrobatic feats just as much when the culprits were instrumentalists as when they were vocalists; we, for some inscrutable reason, object to gymnastics when sung, but vociferously applaud them when played on a violin or pianoforte.

Edmond Hippeau, in his book "*Berlioz Intime*," says of Berlioz as a critic, "that he never pleaded his own cause in the press; never spoke of his own works; never profited by his entrenched position to seek advertisement, *réclame*, or even discussion. He never replied to a criticism; he never even hindered his partisans from disfiguring his doctrine by attributing to him theories which were not his own." Amongst his ideas which have been most persistently misunderstood by even his partisans, must be placed his ideas on fugue. Friends and foes have alike declared with touching unanimity that he hated fugue. He did not hate fugue! He merely hated a particular application of the fugue-form, just the same as a musician might conscientiously object to the Creed being set to the rhythm of a Strauss waltz, without of necessity objecting to waltzes by Strauss or anyone else. His attitude on the subject was simply this: Without having any great admiration for the fugue-form *per se*, he certainly had no objection to the fugue or *fugato* as a means of expression. What he did hate, as being often totally opposed to religious sentiment, was the use of *quick* fugues in sacred compositions, and above all quick fugues on the words *Amen* or *Kyrie eleison*. Of these he says: "If, instead of shouting *A-a-a-men* for two hundred bars, the choir, singing in French, took it into their heads to express their wishes by vocalising *Allegro furioso* on the syllables *Ain-si* (or, as it would be in English, *So-so-so-so-be-be-it*!) with an accompaniment of trombones and loud thumps on the kettle-drums, . . . is there anyone capable of appreciating musical expression who would not say, 'This is a realistic chorus of drunken peasants throwing mugs at one another's heads, or some impious caricature of all religious sentiment'?"

On the other hand, he has nothing whatever to say against the use of *slow* fugues in sacred works. He praises a slow fugue of Lesueur's, and goes so far as to declare that the fugue-form was the most fitted to express the meaning of the words *Quis enarrabit cælorum gloriam?* and to the Abbé Girod, the author of a work on religious music, he very clearly explains: "Without doubt it would be possible to write a beautiful fugue of a religious nature to express the pious wish *Amen*. But it would have to be slow, full of contrition, and very short, for however well the sense of a word may be expressed, that word cannot be repeated a

great number of times without its becoming ridiculous. Instead of this reticence, this striving after expression, all the fugues on the word *Amen* are quick, violent, and turbulent."

The accepted impression of his attitude towards fugue no doubt arose from the *bon-mot* of Cherubini's, which Berlioz himself relates. It was at a rehearsal of Beethoven's Mass in D, and Berlioz, in spite of his adoration of the Bonn master, was inveighing against the fugued *Amen* to a pianist of his acquaintance. Cherubini passed by, and inquired the subject of discussion. "This gentleman does not like fugue!" explained the pianist, perverting both the words and the meaning of Berlioz. "Because fugue does not like him!" returned Cherubini. We can imagine the elderly contrapuntist moving away, chuckling to himself at his caustic remark, no doubt perfectly oblivious of the fact that he, as a member of a musical jury, had *four* times passed Berlioz as being competent to write fugues. Naturally the *mot* was repeated by all three, for Berlioz was not afraid to tell a tale against himself, and so the misrepresentation of his real opinions spread, has passed current for seventy years, and probably will be continued to be believed until, in the dim future, the only recognized distinction between Bach and Berlioz will be that one liked fugue and the other did not.

That Berlioz was always consistent as regards theory and practice I am not contending—he was human! But I do contend that he was not so inconsistent as to profess to hate all fugues of all sorts, kinds, and descriptions, and yet write such numbers as the free double fugue of the "Te Deum," the *finale* to the "Fantastic," the two fugues of the "Requiem," the four of the "Childhood of Christ," and the eight or nine more to be found in his not very numerous works.

That these fugues can by any stretch of courtesy be considered strict of course I am not pretending; fugues with him were merely a means to an end, and in them, as in any other form, he would not scruple to break all the classic rules of symmetry if he thought thereby to increase the truthfulness of expression. That this truthfulness can co-exist with perfection of form requires no proof; but while the former is mainly a gift of nature, perfection of form is chiefly the result of that early education which, as we have seen, Berlioz lacked.

But his irregularities of form arose from even a stronger reason than a childhood and boyhood nurtured on the flute, guitar, and Pleyel's Quartets. To this Schumann has given us the clue when, in pointing out that the second half of Berlioz's phrases rarely corresponds to the first half, he attributes the fact to the exuberance of the Southern temperament.

Musical form, as we understand it, is essentially a product of German thought and feeling, and therefore must always remain more or less foreign to a member of a Latin race. We find a parallel to this in the kindred art of poetry, inasmuch as certain forms of verse only attain their fullest perfection in certain languages; or, in other words, since language is inseparably connected with thought, certain peoples *think* best and more naturally in certain forms. Thus the sonnet, one of the strictest forms of verse, only attains its fullest perfection in Italian, on account of the facility of rhyming in that language. Sonnets have been written in other tongues, but they are often like those of Shakespeare, not in strict form, or too plainly show traces of the self-imposed fetters—the writer was endeavouring to express himself in a form foreign to his language, and therefore foreign to his thought! On the other hand, blank verse, which is so magnificent a vehicle of English thought, is a form almost impossible to a Frenchman or an Italian. This holds good for art generally, and we have as much reason to deplore the fact that a musician cannot express himself fluently in a musical form invented by another nation, as to bewail the obstinacy of the Greek mind, which refused to *think* in Gothic architecture.

This difference of musical idiom explains many things in the works of Berlioz, and probably has much to do with the fact that his and other French music has not met in England that acceptance which much of it deserves.

Of course many of the irregularities of form in his compositions have nothing whatever to do with his Latin race and Southern temperament, but are the direct outcome of that programme which he often had in his mind, and to which many composers have owned, even when writing pieces which, for want of any title or description, are included under the head of pure music.

That he invariably had this programme in his mind when composing was certainly not the case, although some are apt to imagine that every bar is intended to convey some definite meaning, like the lady who discovered in the "Romeo and Juliet" Symphony the particular passage where the gentleman arrives in his cab. From a footnote in this same Symphony it is clear that he realised the limitations of music—that it is useless to attempt to convey any *definite* meaning by the aid of music alone; that while it can illustrate some scene or idea with which the listener is familiar, it cannot depict something unknown to the audience. This note is attached to the number illustrating the death of the lovers, according to Garrick's version of the tragedy, and Berlioz directs that the whole number should be omitted unless the Symphony be played before an audience well acquainted with Garrick's

dénouement, "That is," he hastens to add, "it should be omitted ninety-nine times out of a hundred." As the Invocation, which forms part of it, is one of the most beautiful things he ever wrote, this wholesale cutting seems too drastic a proceeding; but the note is of interest, since it expresses his attitude towards programme-music.

This is again set forth in the preface to the "Fantastic," where he directs that the programme should be distributed to the audience, but that this is only a *sine quâ non* when the Symphony is followed by "Lelio," which contains the same idea, and which was intended to be given in a theatre. In the event of the Symphony being played separately (and remember this was before the days of analytical programme books!), it is merely necessary to supply the audience with the titles of the several movements, *as the author hopes the Symphony contains sufficient musical interest apart from all dramatic intention*. This golden axiom, that a musical composition should be interesting in itself, has been put into other words since, if it has not always been acted up to, and it is as well to recollect that Berlioz, who is sometimes supposed to be seven-eighths orchestral and wholly programme, should have been the first to enunciate it.

If one carefully examines the headings of his various orchestral works, it is astonishing how vague they usually are—in most cases merely a bare title, a title which might appropriately apply to a dozen different movements by a dozen different composers. That he chose his themes as more expressive of emotion than portraiture (to use Beethoven's words anent the "Pastoral" Symphony) is evident from the fact that he often utilised themes taken from earlier and discarded works, which doubtless illustrated the same kind of emotion, though a different situation. Thus, the *idée fixe*, the melody which runs through the "Fantastic," and which represents the "Beloved One," had been previously used in "Erminia," one of his unsuccessful attempts to gain the Prix de Rome; two themes from "Rob Roy" were introduced into the "Harold"; one of the melodies in "Cleopatra" becomes the Miranda theme in the "Fantasia on the Tempest" ("Lelio"), while another afterwards forms part of the love-duet in "Cellini," and so on. It is obvious from this that in his programme-music he had no intention of crossing his "t's" and dotting his "i's" in the manner he is popularly supposed to do, and which in some striking instances has been so systematically carried out since his time.

At the risk of shocking those critics of the great Frenchman who deny that he ever worked from the purely musical point of view, I would suggest that often the programme was found for the music, instead of *vice versa*. It was so in the case of

the themes I have just quoted, which he treasured up because they satisfied him musically, and it certainly was so in the case of his "dream" Symphony. This was a Symphony he dreamt for two nights, and of which the impression was so strong that, on waking, he could have written down the greater part of the first movement. For four days, as Legouvé relates, this Symphony maddened him, but nevertheless he put it away from him. He was too poor to write it! It would mean neglecting his critical work—his bread-and-butter! it would mean a large expense for copying the parts; it would mean that he would be tempted to give a concert for its production, which would probably land him in financial difficulties. He was too poor! He dared not write that Symphony!

But I am not so much insisting on the cruel apathy of the Parisians, which deprived the world of a work of art, as on the fact that this Symphony was quite irrespective of any programme. It would apparently have simply been "Symphony No. 5, in A minor," and even had it been eventually labelled, it proves that sometimes at any rate the programme was by way of an afterthought.

From one point of view Berlioz was perhaps the most original composer that ever lived. With most of the others, their originality seems to have been almost an acquired art. With their later works before us, we are able to discern their own true selves in their early scores, but generally speaking in their first compositions they were somebody else; if I may so put it, it was only after many attempts that the vast majority of the masters taught themselves to be original. Berlioz, on the contrary, commenced by being original. His very first work for orchestra, the "Francs Juges" Overture, owes practically nothing to anything that had gone before; one may approve of it or not, but there can be no doubt as to its being original. Paradoxically, his last work, "The Trojans," betrays the influence of a preceding composer perhaps more than any other of his compositions; although the opera is pure Berlioz, and often Berlioz at his best, still, possibly on account of the classic nature of the subject, the influence of Glück is apparent.

Naturally he learnt much from other composers, especially Beethoven and Weber, but of all his predecessors Lesueur exercised the greatest influence over him; not directly, for there is little in the author of "Les Bardes" to suggest the future composer of the "Fantastic," beyond certain resemblances of harmony, and a fondness for the harp—there are twelve in Lesueur's masterpiece! We trace the older master's influence rather in the direction of his ideas on programme-music and, what is more noteworthy, of his ideas on musical expression by means of tone-colour.

But if there be any doubt as to which of the masters influenced Berlioz, there cannot be much as to those he has swayed in his turn. All have profited by his experiments in orchestral balance and colour. His indirect influence has been enormous, although of direct disciples he has none. He stands alone, and this solitude is at once a source of strength and weakness: of strength since it adds to his originality, and of weakness because this aloofness has militated against his popularity.

With a certain section, too, his music is too straightforward; there is no hidden significance, no cryptic meaning! In the wondrous Love Scene of the "*Romeo and Juliet*" he seeks to depict nothing more than the meeting between the ill-starred pair; the "*March to Execution*" is merely what it pretends to be—it does not represent the Progress of Mankind through the Inscrutable to the Unattainable.

In none of his works is such an everyday occurrence as the union of a man with his aunt (of which we have a well-known instance) dignified by commentators into something symbolic of the unexpressed yearnings of Humanity.

The difficulty of imitating him has also told against him. Even his orchestration has never been absolutely imitated. This is doubtless because it is so difficult to gather the effect of any of his scores from a mere perusal. There appears to be no equation between the written notes and the sounded ones. As Saint-Saëns says: "If there be one quality, which one cannot deny his works, which even his bitterest enemies have never contested, it is the splendour, the wonderful colouring of his instrumentation. When, in studying him, one endeavours to understand his methods, one proceeds from one surprise to another. Those who have read his scores without having heard them can form no idea of them, the instruments appear to be arranged in a manner contrary to common-sense; it seems that that cannot 'sound' well, and yet that 'sounds' marvellously. If there be, here and there, some obscurities in his style, there are none in the orchestra; it is inundated with a light which sparkles as in the facets of a diamond. In that, Berlioz was guided by some mysterious instinct, and his methods escape analysis because he had none."

This mysterious instinct was probably the power of hearing with his mind's ear in a higher degree than any other composer before or since, and for that reason we never find in his scores those miscalculated effects which we occasionally find in even the greatest masters.

But although his scores taken as a whole may "appear to be arranged in a manner contrary to common-sense," this cannot be said of his separate parts, which are written with a profound knowledge of each individual instrument, with its

limitations and capabilities. As we know, from a paper read before this Association in 1879 by Mr. Osborne (a personal friend of the composer's), Berlioz would invite musicians to his house in order to study the details of their various instruments; and we know from the "*Mémoires*" how he consulted a trombonist as to the practicability of the majestic theme for brass which opens the "*Francs Juges*" Overture. A mysterious instinct may have guided him, but this instinct was itself guided by an experience only gained after a great deal of hard work.

His instrumental parts may be at times difficult, but they are always playable, and he is careful to give directions in case the player should be provided with a kind of instrument other than that intended by the composer. Thus, in the last scene of his "*Damnation of Faust*," which was written at a time when double-action harps were not universal, he in a footnote explains how the harps are to be tuned when the players are only supplied with the old-fashioned instruments. In the same work he has a note directing a particular passage to be played an octave higher, should the executant's flute not possess the key for a low *c*. Nothing was left to chance!

In the "*Eight Scenes from Faust*," his original Opus 1, he has an interesting note as regards double-basses, which opens up a question on which I should like to receive enlightenment. He gives some low *f*'s to the instrument, and since these notes could not be played on the three-stringed double-basses then in general use in Paris, he in a measure apologises for them, and looks forward to the day when the four-stringed double-bass, "then in use in many towns in Germany" (and which of course goes down to *c*), should be universally employed. This footnote, written in 1828, makes one wonder at what date the instruments tuned down to *c*, and for which the classical masters wrote, disappeared, or whether they ever really had any existence at all.

If they did exist, they apparently died hard, for the first note for the double-basses in "*The Flying Dutchman*" (1843) is a low *d*, and Mendelssohn wrote low *c*'s to the end of his life.

If they never existed, then the use of these low notes can have only arisen from ignorance, and as Berlioz appears to have been the first composer who troubled to find out the absolute compass of the double-bass, we have another clue to this "mysterious instinct" which guided him in his orchestration. No doubt often sheer carelessness (although it is difficult to associate carelessness with Mendelssohn!) accounts for these low notes—carelessness in writing the same part for violoncellos and basses without taking into consideration their difference in compass; but there are many passages in the

masters where the two instruments have separate parts, so even the dubiously saving-grace of carelessness cannot be entertained.

For example, in the thirty-nine bars of the Evening Hymn which opens Act II. of "*La Vestale*," the totally distinct part of the double-basses has a low *c* in twenty-three of them. Spontini was no mean hand with the orchestra, and "*La Vestale*," written for the Paris Opera House, was produced in 1807, and kept the stage until 1854; yet, twenty years after its production, there does not appear to have been in the French capital a double-bass capable of going below *g*, a fifth above the low *c*.

Did these classic instruments ever exist? And if they did, why and when did they—

"Fold their tents like the Arabs,
And as silently steal away"?

But Berlioz's directions to the horns are perhaps of the greatest interest, since his life may be considered to cover the transition period of the instrument, from the days when the valve-horn was practically unknown till the time when, at any rate in Germany, the natural or hand horn was the exception.

Although the system of pistons was invented by Bluhmel so early as 1813, piston-horns were not used in the orchestra until 1835, when Halévy introduced a pair of them into "*La Juive*." But the new instruments could not have been very satisfactory for, in 1836, the year after the production of "*La Juive*," we find Meyerbeer altering the parts he had written for them in "*Les Huguenots*" back again into those for natural horns.

Berlioz, with some few exceptions, always wrote for these latter instruments until his opera "*Beatrice and Benedick*" was given at Baden in 1862, *but*—and to this I would draw your attention!—he evidently anticipated his parts being often played on valve instruments, and in some cases absolutely wished it. The first is clear from his marking certain notes as *sons bouchés* (closed or stopped notes), a direction quite unnecessary to a player on a hand horn; the second is equally obvious from his directions as to the use of the valves in several passages. Thus, in "*The Childhood of Christ*," Scene 4, there is a middle *g* with a note that it is to be played as a "*son bouché* of $\frac{2}{3}$ with the cylinders"; while the *e* flat and *f* sharp in the same passage are merely marked as "*sons bouchés*," that is, made with the hand without the use of the valve mechanism, which is absolutely necessary in the case of the closed *g*. (Berlioz usually mentions "cylinders" instead of "pistons," because in his day the former gave the better intonation.)

It is unfortunate for the proper understanding of his horn parts that in the New Edition these *sons bouchés* (with the solitary exception of those in the passage I have just quoted) are invariably marked as *con sordini* (with mutes), for, as I need hardly point out to you, a closed note on a hand-horn is not the same as a muted note. It is true that modern horn-players on the valve-horn make these closed notes resemble the peculiar "wiry" tone of the muted horn, but this is done with deliberate intent, and is utterly opposed to the practice of the old hand-horn players who, although they could not avoid some of the closed notes being muffled, still tried to assimilate their tone-quality as much as possible with that of the open notes. They also appear to have almost invariably produced these stopped notes from some open note *above*, whereas the modern horn-player often obtains them (or some of them) from the semitone *below*.

Even admitting that the difference in tone-quality is not sufficiently marked to materially matter except in a few isolated passages, still, if only from an historical point of view, it is misleading to mark the *sons bouchés* of Berlioz as *con sordini*.

The history of his trumpets is much the same as that of his horns, a wish to have chromatic instruments in his orchestra, but, either from a dearth of players or from imperfections in the early valve mechanism, being compelled to write for the natural instruments.

I have dwelt on Berlioz's horns and trumpets at some length, not only because they are of interest in illustrating the building-up of the modern orchestra, but because they are a striking example of the fact—which is sometimes forgotten—that he had to contend with difficulties of which the fortunate modern composer knows nothing. Wagner has pointed out Beethoven's unhappy position as regards instrumentation, in that he sought to convey ideas of which neither Haydn nor Mozart had dreamt, and yet only possessed their means with which to express those ideas. Berlioz, who asked more of the orchestra than even Beethoven, was in a similar plight, and his position was aggravated because, unlike his great predecessor, he had tempting peeps into the promised land which flowed with Boehm flutes and chromatic brass.

He not only had to contend with imperfect instruments, but with imperfect orchestras and imperfect executants. From the commentaries of the New Edition we know that he sometimes modified his original idea of a passage because he knew he could not get his musicians to play it, and Saint-Saëns tells us how he has seen Berlioz have twenty and thirty rehearsals of a piece, and still the orchestra could not arrive at the desired result from sheer inability to perform

the music. As to the imperfect orchestras, we have only to read his "Mémoires" to appreciate the difficulties he often experienced in obtaining in the towns he visited even such an ordinary instrument of to-day as a harp!

He is so often reproached with the size of his orchestras that it is curious to find in his scores how very economical he is with his means—giving the piccolo part to one of the flutes, for instance. Even where there is no question of economising, his reticence as regards his orchestral material is very striking; and it is this reticence which gives his orchestration such extraordinary variety. In all his songs, in the middle movements of his Symphonies, in his "Childhood of Christ," and in number after number of his other works he appears to absolutely delight in writing for an incomplete orchestra. Mark how careful he is to prepare the effect of any characteristic tone-colour by not making use of it for some time previously. How, for instance, the "forsaken" effect of the *cor anglais* in Marguerite's romance in "Faust" is enhanced because we have not heard the instrument for a long time; how the effect of his trombones is often so superb because they are treated as important members of the orchestral commonwealth, and not merely dragged-in to make the instrumentation sound or occasionally only *look* "rich and full." In the French edition of "The Damnation of Faust" the trombones are used in 460 bars against the 640 in which they are used in the "Elijah"; it is true that the latter work is some 400 bars longer, but even then the proportion is *more* than one-sixth against Berlioz's less than one-eighth. I did not go into the figures from the point of view of sonority, but merely from that of tone-contrast, and chose a score of Mendelssohn's because, in one of his letters, the composer of the "Elijah" speaks, and very justly, of the "sacredness" of the trombone.

In the face of all this reticence it is surprising that Berlioz's "colossal means" and "extravagant demands" are so often dinned into our ears; that in the face of our modern means and our modern demands people can be found to echo the opinions of Paris seventy years ago! I am not denying such persons the milk of human kindness, but milk will not keep indefinitely!—after three-quarters of a century it is apt to become a trifle sour, and at present we have no tariff which renders the importation of exceedingly stale Parisian milk impossible.

That Berlioz admired large orchestras, not only for certain of his works, but for those of Beethoven, Weber, and Gluck, is undoubtedly correct—only in a large body of strings did he find true intonation and a perfect *pianissimo*! That he dreamt of large orchestras is equally correct; but he was far too practical to endeavour to make his dreams a reality,

except when he received a commission from the Government, —even composers of to-day would hardly restrict themselves on such an occasion—and even then he took the precaution of so laying out his score that it could, if necessary, be performed on a smaller scale. What is more, he constantly gave these “commission” works on a considerably smaller scale, thus clearly showing that, whatever his critics may say, at any rate *he* did not believe that his ideas of necessity required extravagant means.

As an example, the parts of the sixteen kettledrums of the “Requiem” (which are “colossal,” while apparently the sixteen anvils of the “Rheingold” are not!) on occasion were given by him arranged for *three* instruments. Let us disabuse our minds of what the early critics of Berlioz said, not only as regards his orchestra, but as regards his melody, his harmony and powers of counterpoint. His works are still living; were they dead the behaviour of some of his opponents would perilously resemble that of body-snatchers! They are still living, so let us take them as they *are*, not as they were supposed to be.

With the new complete edition there is no excuse for ignorance, and if we cannot condone the faults we may at least honestly endeavour to appreciate the virtues.

Berlioz admired and loved so many things English, and he drew inspiration so often from our poets, that in the fitness of things we English ought to try and return some of that affection: and we of the Musical Association have a further reason to cherish his memory, since on his first visit to London in 1847 he had rooms in the house in Harley Street where the Association for so many years held their meetings.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure that whether we agree or disagree with the sentiments that have been expressed, we have all been deeply interested with this afternoon's lecture. It has particularly interested me, because I must confess that I do not know a great deal about Berlioz, nor have I heard a very large number of his works, and, this being the case, I feel somewhat out of place in the chair this afternoon. I wish that someone who knew more about the subject of the paper could have been here in my place, and the few remarks I shall make I offer with a great deal of diffidence. With regard to what the lecturer said about the study of the scores showing that there was never

an effect which Berlioz miscalculated, this may be perfectly true, but from the study which I have given to his scores—not much perhaps, but still I have studied the scores of some of his symphonic poems—the effect when heard afterwards upon the orchestra has sometimes been very disappointing. The impression produced seems to me hopelessly out of proportion to the elaboration of the means employed. I am referring, of course, to parts only of his work, and by no means to all. The disappointment I experienced might have been due to my inability to imagine the result of the score, but I certainly was disappointed when I heard it. It seems to me that Berlioz's ideas were developed out of all proportion to their absolute worth. His scores—the symphonic ones, I mean—show a marvellous cleverness and power of orchestration, but the life-blood is not always present. However, I give you that view with a great deal of diffidence, because I do not feel I am so competent to express opinions on many of the points raised as many who are present. With regard to the double-basses, I have never heard it suggested before that double-basses went down to the low *c*. Perhaps someone here may be able to enlighten us on this point. Where the double-bass parts are written so low I should think it was simply carelessness in writing on the part of the composers, partly due to the fact that both violoncello and double-bass parts were written upon the same stave. I am sure we have all been interested in this paper, and many of you may have something to say about it, so I will only propose a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Wotton. I shall be glad if someone will second that, and also discuss any points that may offer themselves for discussion. (The vote of thanks was passed unanimously.)

Mr. SOUTHGATE.—We have all heard this paper with a great deal of interest, and it has added something to our knowledge of Berlioz. Not a few of us have heard a good deal of his music and, I believe, formed some opinion of the exact position this composer should occupy in the musical hierarchy, a point on which I confess I am very undecided. Sometimes his music fascinates me, at others it seems trivial and written merely to astonish. There is very little of true emotion in Berlioz's music. But you cannot say that of all his works. There are some remarks that our lecturer made on which I feel bound to say a few words. He spoke of degree-holders not always being fluent readers. If he meant that they are not able to form a mental conception of the effect of the written music before them, I would point out to him that the papers set at our Universities both for the Bachelor's and the Doctor's degree require a great deal of such reading. The subjects given are such as could not possibly be dealt with if the candidates could not hear them in

imagination. But if he referred to the practical performance of music, then I would say, and with some regret, that not all our Universities require practical performance for a degree. The Royal University of Ireland exacts this, and I should be very glad if all the other Universities followed suit. But let me point out to you that Berlioz was not himself a fluent reader. Our lecturer, I think, has not touched on that point. The late G. A. Osborne is my authority. He had lived with Berlioz, and I know through him a good deal about Berlioz and his family life that I do not think has ever been in print. Osborne told me that Berlioz tried very hard but never succeeded in playing the pianoforte, though he could play the guitar a little. We have heard something of the horror Berlioz felt for tampering with other people's works. Many of us in these purist days feel the same. But was Berlioz quite consistent in that? I think not. In the "Faust" music we have the notable Rakoczy March. It is not Berlioz's; he has taken it, and dressed it up with the most gorgeous harmony and with an extraordinary feeling for the accent and expression of the Hungarians who play and love such music. I am very glad we have got it, but it is not his own. Again, Berlioz has given us an orchestral setting of Weber's "Invitation à la Valse." I think that is one of the most delightful little pieces we can possibly hear in the orchestra. But it is not his own; he treated it with great skill, but remember it was originally written for the pianoforte by Weber. A slight reference has been made to Berlioz's public letters, in which he did not cater for himself or push his music. But those public letters are terribly artificial things. There is a notable one which is addressed "To my friend G. A. Osborne." Respecting this, Osborne said to me, "That letter is publicly addressed to me, but I never got it." It was indeed never intended for him, but Berlioz wanted a good heading for his production. Moreover, this letter contains a number of things which Osborne told me are absolutely false. With regard to fugues, is there not one reason why Berlioz had a distaste for fugues, namely, the fact that he had not heard them in his early period, that he had not been educated on them, as most of the great masters had been? He has given some examples of fugue—not very deep or abstruse, though some of them are pleasant; but I know no instance in which he has written an instrumental fugue. If his dislike for fugues had been very thorough, he must also have disliked instrumental fugues. This is a little curious, as his great god in music was Mozart, and we know that Mozart wrote fugues in his symphonies as well as in his vocal works. I think if I remember rightly that Berlioz speaks in the very highest

terms of the "Jupiter" Symphony, and we all recognise what the last movement of that is like. Did I understand in the lecture that a general claim was made that musical form in its largest sense was a German invention?

Mr. WOTTON.—I said so respecting form as we know it at the present day.

Mr. SOUTHGATE.—That is a very large question to discuss, and I should have to say a great deal in opposition to that opinion. But as the statement has been made it might be possible at some future time that our lecturer would give us some remarks on the invention of Form. I should want to claim something for the English people, and something for the Italians. I understood our lecturer also to say that originality is an acquired art. He pictured Berlioz as an exception in that he started at once as an original writer, whereas in the other great composers the originality developed gradually. It is quite true that every musician is simply a follower of musicians who have been before him. He takes the forms he finds and carries them on farther, and then we get something new and genius becomes apparent. But it is rather dangerous to say that originality is an acquired art. What do you think of Mendelssohn's "Midsummer Night's Dream Music," the overture especially, which is the work of a boy of eighteen? Surely that was something startling to begin with. As to Berlioz's indirect influence, I quite agree that it has been enormous. I believe that the instrumentation of the present day would not be what it now is had we not had the example of Berlioz to look back to. Surely Wagner was greatly indebted to him. I think Berlioz's theory of the grouping of instrumental tones and the dividing of them into separate masses must have been extremely new at the time. It has had a very great effect on the music of to-day—certainly on the music of Wagner. We know in everything he touched the French composer's instrumentation was masterly. Another statement which I thought was rather strong was when our lecturer spoke of the miscalculated effects of the great masters. It struck me what an interesting paper that would be to be read here—"The Miscalculated Effects of the Great Masters." Of course there are people who think they could take some of these movements in hand, re-score them, and thus make them sound very much better than they stand at present. Some possibly might be made to sound better, but it would be a daring thing to do. Two men, I believe, Wagner and Von Bülow, suggested that part of Beethoven's orchestral works might be re-scored with advantage. Fortunately they never attempted it. Surely we must take the music as it came from the minds of the great musicians, and let it stand as it is passed on to us. If you were to add more instruments,

not invented in their time, you would no doubt get some effects that we miss in their works, but they did not miss them, and they wrote as they deemed best for the instruments with which they were acquainted. As to the puzzle about the double-bass strings, Berlioz frequently gives directions to alter the tuning of the stringed instruments, and therefore there would be nothing peculiar, if a low note were wanted, for the double-basses to tune down lower than usual. With regard to the limitation of imperfect instruments in Beethoven's time, possibly he had to struggle with what we may call imperfect instruments, but I do not think he felt it. As instruments improve composers have been found to adapt their work to these improvements, and little by little they add more and more to their resources. Passages are now written for horns that would not have been dreamed of in past times, though in some of Mozart's sestet for wind instruments there are passages which seem almost impossible to play. But did Beethoven find any difficulty on that account? The same might be said of Bach and the clavier. It then had a very much smaller compass that it has at present. No doubt had he lived in these days he would have written very different music. But the limitation is really only our way of looking at the instrumentation of that particular period—the composer could not have felt it himself. As to the economy of instruments which our lecturer has dwelt upon, I was a little surprised at that because certainly Berlioz seemed a man who did not study economy for his instruments, unless he had not all he wanted at his disposal. Take, for instance, his "Te Deum," or his "Requiem Mass" with its numerous drums. I recollect when that was put on at the Crystal Palace I went there with enormous eagerness to hear what it was like. I knew about it because, though he does not write about his music in his letters, he takes good care in his "Treatise on Instrumentation" to give a very large number of extracts from his own works—it was quite right that he should—and there are pages on pages occupied by that extract as to drum effects. When I heard this pretentious work I thought it a ghastly failure. It is nothing like so effective as a notable concerto for kettledrums that is sometimes played at the Crystal Palace. There is one small work of Berlioz's which our lecturer has mentioned which is of a very different character from the rest of his works that I am acquainted with—I mean "L'Enfance du Christ." It is a small work, but charmingly written, very melodious, and one of those things which even a person most familiar with Berlioz's style would hardly recognise as his work. Osborne told me that Berlioz at first concealed his authorship with a view of puzzling the public, and that the people of Paris were very surprised when

they found Berlioz was the author. That shows that Berlioz could think in a simpler form of music than we find in his compositions generally. There is one work of which I should like to hear our lecturer's opinion, and that is the *Pandemonium* in the "Fantastic" Symphony. I remember hearing it at the Crystal Palace, and afterwards saying to Manns, "What a terrible mess the orchestra made of that last movement!" I will not tell you what the dear old conductor said about it. The next time I saw Arthur Sullivan he told me he had the score of it, and we looked over it together. He said: "My opinion is that the whole thing is a joke; he just put in the theme of the '*Dies Iræ*' to give it an air of reality, but he never intended it to be taken seriously."

Mr. WELCH.—As regards Berlioz's connection with musical instruments there is a small point which has been overlooked. His chief instrument was not the horn nor the guitar, but the flute, which he played from his youth and thoroughly understood. He was on the jury at the Great Exhibition of 1851 when the gold medal was awarded to Boehm, and was so impressed with the importance of his invention as to assure his brother jurymen that the old flute, which he played to them, in comparison with Boehm's was only fit to be heard at a fair. His father, who was a physician, wished him to follow his own profession. It is said that he induced him to undertake the study of the bones, the first step the young anatomist has to take, by the bribe of a brand-new flute with all the latest keys.

Mr. J. PERCY BAKER.—I should like to offer a remark as to the "miscalculations" of composers, a term which is constantly in people's mouths. They go to a concert with the score in their hands, and finding that a certain passage does not come out so clearly as they expected, lay the blame on the unlucky composer. I do not think that is in all cases quite fair. It has frequently struck me that the composer's miscalculations should be ascribed instead to the limitations of conductors. I feel certain of that, because you may hear a scoring come out well under one conductor, which fails altogether under another. If you have a capable conductor you will generally find the composer's score is all right.

Mr. COBBETT.—I should be glad if our lecturer could give us a really authoritative pronounciation of the composer's name. One hears so many variations in this respect—we have had two or three here this afternoon.

Mr. WOTTON.—In his birthplace the final "z" is sounded, but in Paris it is dropped.

Mr. BAKER.—My own French master (he was a Parisian pure and simple) once corrected my pronounciation, and said, "No, his name is Berlioz."

Mr. PRENDERGAST.—I remember speaking to Dr. Maclean on the subject of the pronunciation of Berlioz's name in France, and he said directly, "Always Berlioz."

Mr. WOTTON.—My statement may be illustrated by a caricature that appeared in one of the Parisian papers (of 1836) reproduced in the *Musical Times* (of August last)—a bust of Berlioz, and on the pedestal BER and a bedstead: BER-LIT-HAUT. It was a poor joke, but it shows the regular pronunciation.

Mr. COBBETT.—With regard to the occasional dryness of Berlioz's music it has struck me that with his passionate idealism (I suppose no Frenchman has ever made love oftener than he) it is remarkable that there should be so little passion in his music. In his "Romeo and Juliet" there is no passion like that in "Tristan und Isolde" or even in Gounod's "Romeo and Juliet."

Mr. WOTTON.—I have to thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen, for the way in which you have received my paper. It is something like a curate's first sermon: I have cut out, I think, more than I have put in. As regards the instrumentation of Weber's "Invitation à la Valse," when "Der Freischütz" was got up in Paris—the proper version—and Berlioz had to superintend the production, they insisted on the introduction of a ballet, and suggested that some of Berlioz's own music might be used. He however insisted there should be no music but Weber's, and so he scored his "Invitation à la Valse" for the purpose. But you will notice that there is nothing in the score which is not in the original; we have another version which contains a good deal for which Weber is not responsible. With regard to miscalculated effects, there are of course two well-known ones given in Prout's work on the orchestra—one from the Scherzo of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, the other from Schubert's Symphony in C. But I think something like this can be found in Wagner. Unless I am very much mistaken, they have a small organ at Bayreuth which only contains four notes. They use it to strengthen the pedal E₇ at the commencement of the Rheingold. If Wagner had not thought the E₇ strong enough as he had scored it, he could have strengthened it. That was certainly a miscalculated effect; and I think occasionally his division of the strings into many parts is miscalculated too. But that is only a personal opinion. I give that as an illustration. I agree with Mr. Baker that the effect depends largely on the conductor. With regard to the double-basses, Berlioz, so far as I know, gives a direction for tuning a string down on one occasion only. That is in "La Captive." The double-basses are there directed to tune the E string down to D. As far as I know that is the only instance. But in his "Treatise on Instrumentation" he

suggests that Beethoven did possess instruments going down to C. For instance, in the grave-digging scene in "Fidelio," the double-basses have a part distinct from the violoncellos, and yet they go down to D \flat . The present four-stringed double-bass goes down to E. I often wonder when the tuning down to C died out, and why it suddenly disappeared. I do not think there is much for me to reply to, as the remarks were mostly the speakers' personal opinions.

JANUARY 19, 1904.

DR. W. H. CUMMINGS, F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

THE HYDRAULIC ORGAN OF THE ANCIENTS.

By JOHN W. WARMAN, A.R.C.O.

I.—PRELIMINARY.

IN this paper on the Ancient Hydraulic Organ, or *Hydraulicon*, I must first apologize for the unfavourable strictures which I shall have to set down as to some of those persons who have been generally most highly regarded—and very deservedly so—in connection with the Art of Music. And my difficulties are enhanced by the fact that all, or most of, such persons are unfortunately no longer living. Now the axiom "Say nothing but good concerning the dead" is a most beautiful one theoretically; but it is obvious that it cannot always be obeyed in practice. For, although the sound of the departed one's *actual* voice has been for ever stilled, yet while that larger and more enduring written utterance remains, for good or for evil, so long must that utterance exist as an object of legitimate inquiry and adjudgment—always of course with the remembrance that as the deceased person can never more be present in the flesh, for disputing or denying the truth of any verdict pronounced against him, so must such verdict be always weighed accordingly. It is necessary to add that in any condemnations here made as to statements by these musicians concerning the organ, it is solely the *structure* of the instrument which is then involved, and even in that is always wholly or chiefly as relating to its *physiological* considerations.

2.—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE HYDRAULICON AND ITS LITERATURE.

The parentage of the Hydraulicon is a little obscure ; for while, as will be directly seen, its origin is essentially Grecian, it does not appear that any really early specimen of the instrument was ever actually constructed within the State of Greece proper. It is true that the illustrious Athenian, Plato, is recorded to have invented and made an organ which was worked by water ; but this was not a real Hydraulicon, for the water was employed by Plato merely to cause its gravitating power to set in motion an ordinary fold-made or pneumatic bellows.

The *first* or true inventor of the actual hydraulic organ was undoubtedly the celebrated *Archimedes* ; an engineer at Syracuse, a city in Sicily, and founded by colonists from Corinth. Archimedes was living during years B.C. 287-212. Note also what will be said under *Eadwine*, just on.

The next name to appear is that of *Ctesibius* ; a barber at Alexandria, the famous Egyptian city founded by Alexander the Great. Ctesibius flourished during B.C. 222-200. He is said to have invented and added the perforated sliding port, or ruler, placed beneath each pipe.

Then comes *Hero* ; also of Alexandria, and reputed a pupil of Ctesibius. Lived during B.C. 181-117. He devised the keyboard of finger-cranks ; and seems to have improved the Hydraulicon to nearly the stage at which it virtually remained till its last.

After this the chief persons connected with the instrument can be here little more than mentioned ;—still chronologically :—

SEVERUS. Latin poet. About B.C. 30.

NERO. Roman Emperor. A.D. 37-68. A reputed improver of the hydraulic organ.

VITRUVIUS. Roman architect and engineer. A.D. 70-80 (wrongly accepted as B.C. 31 to A.D. 14). Note just forward, under *Newton* ; also later on, in Divisions 4 and 5.

ATHENÆUS. Greek historian. A.D. 175-228.

OPTATIANUS. A.D. Fourth Century.

AMMIANUS. Ditto.

VALENTINIAN. A.D. 364-455. Coin of Valentinian shows an hydraulic organ.

CLAUDIAN. A.D. 400.

GREGORIUS. A.D. 826. "Made an Hydraulicon after the manner of the ancients."

EADWINE. Ninth Century. Copied a drawing of the Hydraulicon of Archimedes. (Note the first portion of Division 4.)

SYLVESTER II. Died 1003. Constructed an Hydraulicon having brass (bronze ?) pipes.

UNKNOWN. Eleventh Century. An Hydraulicon, having its arca closed, and carrying a regular keyboard. Drawing was made by Forkel in 1788-1801; and copied by Häuser in 1834; and from his figure transferred to Rimbault's "Organ," in 1855. (Observe onward.)

VICTORIUS. 1499-1585. An Hydraulicon with its pipes' feet placed in water, the latter being forced into them by means of a screw. (Type evidently imaginary.)

PORTA. 1550-1615. Only mention of another water-driven pneumatic organ.

BARBARO. In his versions of Vitruvius gives a most ludicrous imaginary drawing of the Hydraulicon.

KEPLER. Astronomer. 1619. In his "Harmonices Mundi" has a silly "description" of the Hydraulicon.

KIRCHER. 1650. His "Musurgia" contains an idiotic drawing, evidently an inspiration from that by Barbaro (*ante*)

POWELL. 1661. Repeats Victorius (*ante*).

PERRAULT. 1673. In his translation of Vitruvius contributes a third pictorial abortion meant to represent the Hydraulicon.

VOSSIUS. [Again] 1673. His "De Poematum" includes a virtually correct description and drawing of the action of the Hydraulicon,—minus its pipes and keys.

GRASSINEAU. 1740-3. Repeats Porta (*ante*).

WILLIAM NEWTON. London architect. 1771-91. With his translation of Vitruvius gives notes and a nearly exact drawing of the famous Roman's type of Hydraulicon. (Note again Division 5.) Newton also put right the previously wrongly accepted *date* of the work of Vitruvius (as mentioned under latter's head at a little back).

Dr. BURNEY. 1776. Having entirely failed to understand the principle of the Hydraulicon he, in his "History," consoles himself by depreciating the invention generally.

MASON. 1795. In his "Essays" partly follows Sylvester (*ante*).

STRATICO. 1825-30. His version of Vitruvius copies the Hydraulicon drawing given by Newton (*ante*).

Dr. RIMBAULT. 1855. In this, his first edition of the "Organ; its History . . ." he has dealt very carefully and thoughtfully with the Hydraulicon; but yet has utterly failed to grasp its actual principle and structure. This is the more remarkable because such "History" has (on p. 10) included the admirable drawing of the hydraulic organ reproduced by Häuser (mentioned a little back),—which organ he (Rimbault) actually thinks to be a "self-acting" one, although its keyboard is plainly conspicuous. Another

correct representation—Vossius's (note again *ante*)—is as absolutely rejected by Rimbault as being "fancied." It is only right to add that Rimbault's later editions show some improvement concerning his knowledge of the Hydraulicon, especially as to Häuser's "self-acting" specimen.

F. J. FÉTIS. The famous musical writer. 1865. Respecting the Hydraulicon, however, he has been unable to achieve anything more than a lament over his own and others' inability to understand it, together with a most regrettable panegyric of Barbaro's atrocious drawing.

WILLIAM CHAPPELL. 1874. His "History of Music" includes a purported account and explanation, aided by copies of three drawings of the Hydraulicon. The letter-press here seems to afford the first attempt at an *independent* definitive description of the instrument, and is fairly correct in the main. In the detail and comment, however, the ignorance and self-sufficiency of the "explanation" only render any confusion the worse confounded. In "Chambers's Journal" for 1874, p. 739, reference is made to a working model of the Hydraulicon which was constructed by Mr. Chappell, aided by a friend.

Dr. E. J. HOPKINS (gifted organist, writer, and player). 1880. In his organ article in Grove's "Dictionary," Hopkins has faithfully followed Chappell's descriptive Hydraulicon "explanation" and its errors.

A. J. HIPKINS (erudite musical writer). 1896. His "Description . . . of the Pianoforte" contains, extracted from the present author's "Organ Bibliography," a citation as to the true date of the earliest keyboard of the Hydraulic and other organs.

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With respect to the date at which the Hydraulicon finally died out it is impossible to speak exactly; but it may be safely set at about the middle or end of the seventeenth century.

3.—THE OBJECTS IN THE DEVISING OF THE HYDRAULICON.

It has always been the general belief that the hydraulic organ was invented in order to obtain a *steadier* and more *regular* supply of wind than was possible with the "pneumatic" or wind-bellows instrument.

I am afraid that we must, with very scant ceremony, at once throw this hypothesis overboard.

In the first place there is with the *wind*-bellows organ no real unsteadiness or irregularity to be got rid of. The most ancient representations of these bellows that are discoverable—such as the Hebrew pair of them shown on page 4 of Rimbault's "History"—prove that they were, in their principle

and operation, exactly identical with the "simple" or lifting bellows which Hans Lobsinger, of Nuremberg, claimed to have "invented" in A.D. 1570; and which were "universally" employed until superseded by the more compact and easily workable "compound" or feeding bellows devised by our own Samuel Green in or about the year 1785. Even then the lifting bellows, from its greater durability and *steadiness*, was still often employed; and it has continued in occasional use even to the present day. An instance of such employment occurs in the Doncaster (Yorks.) Parish Church organ, built by Schulze, of Paulinzella (South-west Germany) as lately as 1862. On these points see that most useful but badly translated work, Seidel's "Organ and its Construction."

The idea of the irregularity of the wind pressure in the normal pneumatic bellows doubtless originated in the obvious fact that the higher such a bellows rises the greater will be the downward pressure exercised by the *upper* strata of the wind upon the *lower* strata of such wind. But a moment's reflection will show that, inasmuch as the bellows is not, nor ever can be, surrounded by a vacuum, the weight of the air both inside and outside the bellows must always be virtually the same. There is of course the consideration that the air within the bellows is, through being compressed, always slightly heavier, bulk for bulk, than the air outside it; but such difference amounts to nothing practically.

But if there *were* any importance in the foregoing objection to the wind-bellows for the organ, it is manifest that such importance must increase in an exact ratio to the amount of the height to which the bellows rises. Yet Sir John (then Dr.) Stainer, in his "Organ Primer," has unequivocally condemned, as being especially non-regular, the "diagonal" or cuneiform modelled wind-bellows having but one fold, although such bellows of course always possesses the *least* amount of *rise*.

Another object, supposed by Dr. Hopkins (see p. 575, Vol. II. of Grove's "Dictionary") and some other persons to have been achieved in and by the water organ, was the avoidance of the danger of *overblowing* the pipes. The real truth is, that while with the wind-bellows, if properly constructed, any overblowing is virtually impossible, such defect is with the water-bellows virtually inevitable, however well the instrument may be made.

[I have mentioned these last two considerations partly with the idea of demonstrating the difficulties which organ-builders have sometimes to contend against in carrying out their contracts, through the physiological ignorance of organists who are involved therewith: and this even when such organists are, as they were in the two just mentioned cases, veritable giants in the exercise of the musical profession proper.]

On the whole, then, I have no doubt whatever that the true object in the invention of the *Hydraulicon* was the *exact opposite* of that which it is generally believed to have been, *viz.*, such object was really the attainment of *expression* by *varying* the wind-pressure at pleasure. The want of absolute expression has always been, and always will be, the weak point in the constitution of the king of instruments; and in the early times, when the pipes were few, and separate registers usually absent, and chromatic scales and treatment virtually unknown, and the handles or keys so far apart as to render even the simplest chords almost impracticable, this want would inevitably be soon and forcibly felt, and attempts be made to remedy it; and, nothing better offering itself, the varying of the wind pressure would as certainly become the result. It must be added that it would be absurd to suppose that such masters of physiological hydraulics as Archimedes, Ctesibius, and Hero unquestionably were, would for one moment think that an unvarying pressure could be obtained from the weight of a vertically varying mass of water, especially when it is remembered that the latter is *eight hundred and fifteen times as heavy* as ordinary air.

In support of this "expressional" hypothesis it will suffice to glance at what was being done, contemporarily or otherwise with the hydraulic organ, as to the improvement of the *pneumatic* organ. If we turn to the *Pneumatikon* of date 395 (A.D.) or before, figured on page 12 of Rimbault's "Organ History," and copied by Hopkins on page 576 of Grove's "Dictionary," we shall find the wind-bellows—or rather the necessitated pair of them—loaded, instead of by ordinary weights laid on the bellows tops, by a *man* standing on each of the latter. Now, as these bellows are of the cuneiform or hinged-top model, it is evident that the object of having these loading men was the capability of obtaining power expression,—the loaders being directed by signals from the players to change their locations as required, upon the bellows. Of course, the *nearer* that the men stood to the bellows *hinges* the softer was the tone, and *vice versa*.

Many passages in ancient writings indicate quite unmistakably the great variations in the powers of individual and other organs, both hydraulic and pneumatic; and show also that such variations were not only fully acquiesced in but deliberately intended by the musicians. Thus on Rimbault's page 8 of same "History," we read: "A row of pipes (of an organ by Ctesibius) . . . capable of emitting the most fanciful, as well as the softest, sounds." On Rimbault's page 14, it is said, concerning another *Hydraulicon* (of the ninth century A.D.), that "its softness (query) of tone caused the death of a female." On Rimbault's page 17, a pneumatic

organ (of the tenth century A.D.) has the descriptive statement that "like thunder the iron tones batter the ear, so that it may receive no sound but that alone"; &c.

Of course this said "expression by pressure" was obtained only at the expense of terrible interferences with the instrument's "pitch" and "tune"; and this inharmoniousness, when fully realized, effectually prevented the Hydraulic organ from finally holding its ground against the Pneumatikon.

4.—GENERIC DESCRIPTION OF THE HYDRAULIC ORGAN.

The actual structure of the hydraulic organ, in its fundamental or *first* typical form, was as follows:—

The base was formed with a firm platform of timber or smaller wood. On and to this platform was affixed the arca, or chest, which contained the water. Within this arca was placed the (inverted) funnel-shaped (or preferably dome-bodied) *pnigeos*, or *pnigeus*, which was so fastened as to allow the water to pass freely beneath its (the funnel's) lower edge. To the top of the neck of this *pnigeos* was attached the *arcula*, or wind-chest, which carried the pipes, the funnel's neck entering through the bottom of the *arcula*. Near to the arca, and also affixed to the platform, were the blowers or pumps. Each pump consisted of a cylinder having its top end closed and its bottom end open. Within each cylinder was its piston, to which the required up-and-down motion was transmitted by means of a lever. In the largest sized organs the cylinders were formed of wooden staves hooped together, and the packing of each piston-head was by an unshorn sheep-skin. In the said top of each cylinder was placed a valve that opened downwards towards the piston. From, or beneath, such top proceeded a tube which entered the funnel at a point in or just below the latter's neck, and had such entered end also furnished with a valve, which valve opened inwards into such funnel. Into the arca was, finally, poured the water, usually in amount sufficient to rise to the level of about one-third of the funnel's body.

The action will now be clearly understood. On the driving up of the blowing piston the air was straightway forced through the tube into the *pnigeos*, and thus depressed the level of the water within the latter; the level of the water outside the *pnigeos* being of course raised to a corresponding extent. And the air, which had so become wind, being prevented by the tube's valve from returning into the cylinder, directly rushed to its only remaining exit, *viz.*, the *pnigeos* neck leading into the wind-chest; and thus at once sounded the pipes. The silencing of such of these as were not at the moment required was effected by the placing of the

knuckle-portion of the hand against their mouths; aided, when advisable, by the dropping of thimble-caps or bonnets over their tops. I give an illustration of both of these operations.

You will now see also the reason why "bronze" was so much in evidence in the pipes of the ancient organs, both lead and pewter being too soft to withstand the player's manipulation.

This Primal species of the hydraulic organ may be considered to have remained virtually unaltered until about the year 212 B.C.

A drawing by *Eadwine* of an *Hydraulicon* of this type will be found on page 18 of Rimbault's "*Organ*." In this figure there are several pumping cylinders, formed of hooped staves (in the manner already mentioned); and two stops or registers of pipes, one following the other in one same line, and each forming its own "*Alphabet*," complete with its own player. The pipes total up to only ten in number, and one of the "*stops*" has its pipe-tops capped or bonneted in the way just described. There are four pumping handles, with a man to each. The drawing is very rude, and its date is probably the latter part of the ninth century A.D.; but the drawing from which it (*Eadwine's*) was *taken*, and which is contained in the "*Utrecht Psalter*," was certainly older than this. The date of the instrument itself was probably about B.C. 250. The two players, evidently "*brethren of concordant spirit*" (as cited by Rimbault on his "*Organ*"'s page 17, concerning a *pneumatic organ*), sit side by side, and "*each manages his own alphabet*" (*idem*). The method of the "*management*" will be seen demonstrated in the drawing by the sprawling fingers of the players. Also, it will now be understood why so many operators were required with the earliest organs; the *players* could not possibly muffle or bonnet more than a few pipes with each hand, and the great and resultant wasting of the wind often rendered the employment of several *blowers* necessary.

It is to be noted that Rimbault has actually called this organ a *pneumatic* one, although the blowing cylinders are in full view. Hopkins, on p. 577 of Grove's "*Dictionary*," has repeated both drawing and error, but in his *drawing* the pipe-bonnets do not appear.

Reference may here again be made to the *Historical sketch (ante)*—Heads *Archimedes* and *Eadwine* cf.

The Second type and period of the *Hydraulicon* may be considered to have been furnished by and in the addition of the canons, or sliding rulers or ports, invented by *Ctesibius* in or about the year B.C. 212, and attached to the wind-chest in such a way as to take the office of the "*fingers*" and bonnets that had been previously employed in silencing the

pipes. Each ruler consisted of a flat lath of wood or metal, so fitted beneath its pipe as to allow of such ruler's being pushed or drawn at pleasure in either direction for a short distance by means of a projecting end or handle attached thereto for such purpose. Each ruler had bored through it a vertical perforation corresponding with the wind-passage for its pipe, and which perforation thus either admitted or cut off the pipe's wind according as its ruler was moved backwards or forwards by the player. You will easily understand that these rulers very much *diminished* the amount of the wind wasted; but they could not do more than that, because there was obviously an escape of wind past *every* ruler, whether such ruler's *pipe* were sounding or not, and this, owing to the necessity for all the rulers' being fitted loosely enough to allow of their moving fairly *freely*.

We *know* that these rulers always *remained* just as they were left by the finger or hand, because the monk *Wulston*, in describing a pneumatic organ of similar ruler construction says (see Rimbault's p. 17 of "*Organ*"), "*Some [rulers] when closed he opens, others when open he closes.*"

It is as well to point out that with this sliding-ruler method of admitting the wind there never could exist the defect of the "*pluck*," or resistance by such wind itself against the opening of its inlet.

A drawing of a wind-chest fitted with the handled rulers is given on p. 3 of Rimbault's said "*Organ*."

Here call to mind again the Historical Sketch (*ante*).

Type Three of the *Hydraulicon* may be regarded as having been defined by *Hero's* device of key-cranks and returning-springs, applied to the rulers during about the year B.C. 160. Each crank had one of its arms projecting horizontally, for being pressed down by the finger or hand; while the other arm of such crank projected downwards, and was connected by a suitable trace with the end of its ruler; the returning-springs being of *horn*. Obviously, on the depression of the "*finger*" arm of the crank, the ruler was slidden horizontally until its perforation came vertically beneath that to its pipe—so continuing the similar perforation leading up from the *arcula* (wind-chest), and thus immediately sounding such pipe. On the raising of the finger, the spring at once compelled the ruler to slide back to its former position, and so cut off the wind communication from the pipe. The row of the horizontal arms of the crank-keys therefore constituted the first *returning* or actually *true* keyboard. I may add that the late and most lamented Mr. *Hipkins* employed the term "*balanced*" for these and all other oscillating keys; but such term is obviously a not quite correct one. It should be noted that with the spring-retained rulers there would always be a little increase in the *amount* of the wasted wind,

because of the slightly slacker fit necessary for them, to insure that the power of the springs would prove sufficient for the returning motions.

We now see how very mistaken was Dr. Rimbault when he, on p. 31 of the First Edition of his "*Organ*," laid down the date of the first keyboard as the close of the *eleventh century*. His error was, however, very natural. It arose from the fact that the handled sliding ruler ports *continued* to be employed for some time *after* the introduction of the returning keys,—as is proved by the existence of a Saxon MS. of the above date, which MS. contains the figure of a pneumatic organ provided *only* with such handled rulers; (see here Rimbault's p. 30). This retention was simply because, as all the early claviers had—as already said—their keys too far apart to admit of any single hand's covering at once more than a very few of their notes, the "non-returning clavier" manifestly possessed an advantage over the "returning" one with respect to more *sustained* effects. As the "scale" (the distancing-apart) of the clavier keys became gradually more contracted, this advantage of the handles as obviously ceased; and the rulers were then made, and applied to, so as to be all of the returning-keyed kind. It is only right to add that Dr. Rimbault, in his later edition or editions of "*The Organ*," acknowledged this present mistake.

There are only two other points demanding to be touched on as belonging to this type of the Hydraulicon. The first is that the various chief vessels—as the arca, funnel, and cylinder—were in it generally made of either bronze or copper; (the former word, *aris*, is usually translated *brass*; but it is doubtful if that alloy was used at so early a period). The second point is, that for the cylinder's valve there was employed the form of a pivoted dolphin-shaped lever, having the (cymbal-like) valve proper suspended by a chain from one (the mouth) end of such dolphin. This fanciful valve, however, combined the two serious defects of complexity and unreliability. (The audience will hardly require to be reminded that the *cymbal* of Hero's time was of the shape of a rather deep *tea-saucer*, but having its lip or rim turned outwards—very different from the flexible metal disc which we now call a cymbal.)

An exact instance of a water organ of the *present* model is furnished by the actual instrument which is now before you.

The Fourth period and type of the Hydraulicon may be considered as being summarized in and by the addition or application of distinct governable *stops* or *registers* of pipes, in place of the separated ranks or "Alphabets" of them for each player, which had been till then employed. The mechanism consisted of *round rotating* rulers, made of metal or wood rods, running directly beneath and throughout

the entire length of each distinct register, and perforated vertically in the usual way to convey the wind up to the pipes. The "on-or-off" motion was here furnished by a *quarter-twist* or turn of the ruler to the right or left; and each ruler had its end provided with a winch-handle for such turning purpose. The date of this improvement cannot have been later than the time of Vitruvius, say A.D. 75 (here note back under his name in the *Historical Sketch*), because the register treatment is definitely described in his account of the instrument. As a *minor* improvement during this period may be mentioned the enclosing of the blowing cylinder or cylinders within a sort of ladder-shaped framing or cage. The *recurrence* to the employment of more than one of these cylinders should also be noted; and such a number of them may be, in this model, regarded as obligatory.

For an illustration of the present or Vitruvian type of the instrument see the really beautiful drawing given by Newton in his "Architecture of Vitruvius." I may cite also the *three-registered* Hydraulicon which I have just heard stated to be possessed by the Rev. F. Galpin.

The Fifth and last type of the hydraulic organ embodied all or some of the following improvements:—

(1) The complete chromatic or *semitonal* range of the pipes was (apparently) achieved. (2) The *keyboard* was of nearly the modern scale-distance and type, except that the "sharps" followed regularly like so many naturals. (3) The arca was entirely *closed*, except for the inlet and outlet tubes. (4) The pnigeos was of the *domical* instead of the funnel-like form, the reason being to allow more space for the valve within the vessel's top. (5) The absurd dolphin-and-cymbal valve was replaced by a simple and reliable *hinged* valve. (6) The sliding rulers gave way to regular tight-fitting valves or *pallets*. These latter of course destroyed all the wind-leakage excepting that to such pipes as were *actually sounding*, and even to these only where register-rulers were present. As manifestly, though, this comparative freedom from leakage was not obtained without involving that wind-resistance which had been avoided by the slide-ruler port system of construction.

The names of the authors of these improvements are now lost, but their dates may be confidently set at from the ninth to the eleventh century A.D.

For an excellent typical drawing by Forkel, see the head *Unknown* of the *Historical Sketch* (*ante*). Note also what is said as to *Dr. Rimbault* in the division "Elucidation" next following.

All further details desired concerning the normally complete Hydraulicon can be obtained from the mechanical drawing which you see before you. The student should

by this time have clearly apprehended that the only real difference between the hydraulic and the pneumatic organs consisted in the employment in the former of the downward pressure of the weight of a mass of water, instead of the same pressure as obtained by and from the loaded top of a folded air-bellows.

5.—CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE ELUCIDATION OF THE HYDRAULICON PROBLEM.

After the time of Vossius (1673) all real knowledge of the hydraulic organ seems to have vanished. You will have noted in the *Historical Sketch* how that Barbaro, Kircher, and Perrault respectively produced their ridiculous drawings; how that the majestic Burney unhesitatingly dismissed the problem as one impossible of solution, and freely expressed his august doubts as to whether such solution were indeed worth achieving; how that the giant-like Fétis could speak of the Hydraulicicon only as representing a history of musical torture; and finally, how that the indefatigable Rimbault, certainly the greatest organ historian of his age, incidentally, in his "Organ History," lumped Vossius, Kircher, and Perrault all into one same category, and at last gave up the problem in despair,—and this although he had actually included in his said "History" a copy of the virtually *working* drawing of the instrument given by Forkel in his "Allgemeine Geschichte," and reproduced by Häuser in his "Geschichte des Christ." Many other students, &c., have vainly struggled with the hydraulic enigma.

This want of understanding is the more remarkable because, setting aside Hero's earliest published drawing—which seems of doubtful antiquity,—and Forkel's drawing—the type shown by which had been so much improved as to almost destroy its identity with Vitruvius's model,—there always latterly existed the said amply elucidatory drawing by *Vossius*.

One chief reason for this non-comprehension of the Hydraulicicon's principle undoubtedly lies in the fact of the faultiness of the [original] Latin of Vitruvius and others. Thus in Rimbault's (Stratico's) version of the first-named writer, there are the serious errors that; (1) the identity of the "pnigeus" with the "infundibulum" (funnel) is not made at all properly clear; (2) the "arcula" (wind-chest) is once or twice called the "arca" (water-chest); (3) the sounding-pipes are absurdly made out to be attached to the moving "regula" ([sliding] ruler), instead of to the fixed "tabula" (table, or upper-board); and (4) the bottom or inserted ends of the sounding pipes are actually called "lingulæ" (little tongues).

Another source of perplexity has existed in respect of errors in the *translations*. Thus in Rimbault's (Newton's) rendering, the word "mōdiolus" is translated "bucket" (literally correct, of course) instead of "blowing- (or pumping-) cylinder," its proper equivalent here.

After all, therefore, the long existence of the Hydraulicon enigma is not so very wonderful; for who except a *bonâ fide* organ-builder, and one too who was also an actual archæologist (a rather scarce compound), could have hoped to entirely disentangle such a mass of confusion as is indicated by the above.

The first "modern" person to systematically attempt the Hydraulicon's exact solution was the gifted architect Newton (year 1771); and so masterly was his ultimate and definite drawing that it really left little to be altered. It is to be noted that this his representation is apparently the only one existent which includes the structure of and for the separate *stops* or registers. The drawing's only real mistakes are: (1) that its blowing-cylinders are shown as too *small*; (2) that the *packings* are absent from their piston-heads; and (3) that the register rods, instead of being actually *pierced* for affording the wind passages, are figured as operating on small *hinged* wind-lids or valves. [Newton's placing of the *bass* end of the pipes on the *right* hand has at least the authority of Wilphlingseder's "Erotemata Musices P."]

After Newton came William Chappell (year 1874): but there can be no reasonable doubt that all, or nearly all, his real knowledge of the Hydraulicon was derived from Newton, although Chappell's account is accompanied by fault-finding instead of by thanks-rendering. Here again recall, from the *Historical Sketch*, the present person's name. One of his assertions—as to the non-necessity for largeness in the "condensing syringe" (a totally improper term, by-the-way, for the blowing-cylinder)—will be seen in the next *division* to be quite wrong. In Chappell's same account he has, somehow or other, got hold of the word "ara" (altar) instead of "arca" or wind-chest. This "ara" he, in his *Vitruvian* "translation," calls the "altar-shaped pedestal" which *constitutes* the arca; but in his drawing from Ctesibius he (Mr. Chappell) has inserted the "ara" *under* the arca. Not satisfied with this he has, in referring to the same drawing, utterly confounded the arca with the *pnigeos*. In truth, the only real contributions made by Mr. Chappell to the Hydraulicon's explanation seem to have been—(1) the *substitution* of the term "bronze" for that of "brass"; and (2) the *reversal* of the dolphins which are shown in the drawing by Vossius. In the latter correction, however, Mr. Chappell has simply repeated the figure as given by Newton. Of Mr. Chappell's *model* I have been unable to discover any further trace.

The third notable stage in the instrument's elucidation appears to be afforded by the explanation of its principle which *Dr. Hopkins* has furnished on p. 575 of vol. II. of Grove's "Dictionary." This explanation is evidently derived from Chappell's account aforesaid, and fully partakes of the latter's incorrectness.

My own share in the *Hydraulicon's* solution is a comparatively small one. I have merely gone carefully over the various existing descriptions and pictures of the organ, dismissed those which were imaginary or without real value, collated and corrected all that remained, by these have made an exact working drawing, and finally, from this last have constructed an actual playing instrument. To these operations I may add the discovery that in the latest type of the *Hydraulicon* its arca was sometimes virtually closed at its top (as described in Division 4).

6.—DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT SPECIMEN OF THE HYDRAULIC ORGAN.

I am now able to show you an actual complete *Hydraulicon*. This I commenced on or about September 12, 1902, and finished during portions of rather over three months. [Here glance at the drawing from which the instrument was made.] On June 19 of last year both organ and drawing were first shown,—at a *Soirée* of the Royal Society of London.

The present specimen is not a literal copy of any actual *Hydraulicon* ever existent, but is really an improved or economic model. The type I have selected is that of the third or middle period; and thus is here represented the instrument as it was left, virtually complete in principle and working, by *Hero* in, say, B.C. 150, and as so remaining till about the time of our Lord's Crucifixion. The organ before you, accordingly has but a single blowing-cylinder, and only one stop or register of diatonic-range pipes. The chromatic intervals of the scale (even the "Lyric semitone"), the separate registers, the compacted key-board, the closed arca, and the domical pnigeos, are all, remember, here excluded, as they came in at a later period. The size of the present instrument is restricted, embracing only eight treble notes: but there were many specimens made smaller than this.

The only actual points in which I have *departed* from the earlier and fundamental model of the *Hydraulicon* are the following:—

(1) I have of course not reproduced the (presumably) rough *workmanship* of those early times, but have formed all the parts with the greatest accuracy. (2) The pipes have,

for the convenience of removal in transit, been made with the modern shape of their *feet*, so as to be carried by the ordinary rack-board, instead of their having short feet, attached directly down to the table-top. (3) The returning-springs have been placed *behind* the rulers, so as to act directly against the latters' back ends, instead of being united to the front or key-ends of such rulers by means of small traces or "*choragia*." (4) The blowing-cylinder, *pnigeos*, and *arca* are adapted from *ordinary* utensils, and on the *arca* the handles have been retained. (5) With regard to the *materials*, the metal *bronze* has been entirely discarded, as being too costly for my means, and quite unnecessary in an organ designed solely for illustration. The substitutes have been:—tin-plate for the *arca* and other chief vessels; wood for the wind-chest and its rulers, &c.; pewter for the pipes; lead (bronzed over) for the dolphin; brass for the valve-cymbal and its suspending chain; and aluminium for the crank-keys. As to the portions that the ancients made of *iron*, wood has here taken its place for the piston and its lever, &c., while the primitive straight springs of *horn* have now been rejected for the far less cumulative springs afforded by coiled brass wire.

I will now ask you to see the action of the organ, and hear its voice. Note that the instrument is, till now, entirely empty of water. I first, therefore, raise the blowing piston, and touch the keys, in order to show that the pipes are absolutely dumb. I next remove the *arcula* (wind-chest) with its pipes, and pour water into the *arca*, until the fluid reaches to a sufficient distance up the *pnigeos* (funnel). I then replace the *arcula* and pipes, and work the blowing-pump until that division of the water which is *inside* the funnel is pressed down to a sufficient distance, a portion of such water being therefore compelled to pass out round the funnel's lower lip, and so to rise to a corresponding amount on the *outside* of the funnel. Then on depressing a key, and thus sliding its ruler-port till the latter's perforation is brought directly beneath its pipe, such pipe at once sounds.

[*Illustrations and Demonstrations* of these operations followed; with scale, repetitions, chant, and consecutive fifths, played on the instrument.]

You will now understand how very mistaken was the idea of Mr. Chappell, mentioned in the *Elucidational* division a little back, that there was "no necessity for the *Hydraulicon*'s blowing-cylinder to be of relatively large size." For though such cylinder is in the present organ nearly as large as the main or water-chest, yet the blower can only just keep the wind in. The real reason for this is, of course, the fact that the instant the pump commences to work, the wind begins its continuous leaking away around all the [loose] rulers, and

thus escapes beneath *every* pipe which the instrument possesses. And hence, in the then next, the fourth or Vitruvian type of Hydraulicon, the presence of a second blowing-cylinder—to continue the pumping while the other one was being again filled—was rendered *imperative*; and it so remained until the substitution of tight valves for the free sliding ports allowed a recurrence to the single-cylinder model.

My audience will also now realize more fully how it was that the spring-furnished or returning sliders did not *at once* supersede the dead or handled sliders—*viz.*, because so wide apart were the keys in even the smaller varieties of these early organs. A demonstration of this, likewise, is afforded by the present instrument; for it, though, as already seen, of anything but large size, has its keys so far apart that the spanning of their octave by any single hand is quite out of question.

It remains here only to mention that in the descriptive catalogue of the *Royal Society's Soirée* aboved named, the present Hydraulicon was, by an unfortunate misunderstanding, spoken of as being "The first complete specimen of the instrument *ever* made": the words "since the ninth century" having been dropped out.

7.—CONCLUSION.

A few words must be said concerning one or two remaining points:—

Firstly, as to the *merits*, or otherwise, of the hydraulic species of the organ. On these, a verdict is very soon pronounced; for the Hydraulicon is distinctly inferior in every essential respect to the "Pneumatikon." The so-called "expression" natural with the water instrument, and the great power possible from it when its *arca* is entirely closed, are obtainable only at the expense of variations in the *pitch* which are quite fatal to "correct" tune. And even if this objection could be removed, the presence of the water itself would form an insuperable obstacle; for not only is it certain to injure all but a few special substances, but it is manifestly liable to be blown into places which it is absolutely necessary should be kept clear. It is obvious, too, that the making of even the entire organ out of *bronze* could do nothing to overcome this *last* difficulty.

Secondly, concerning the directing of students to sources of *further information* on the Hydraulicon, considered generically. Several such literary works have been already mentioned in the course of this paper. These and all other writings, &c., of sufficient "hydraulic" importance will be easily found by means of the present author's organal and

other structural Bibliography, which is now passing through the press. The reader may especially notice the "Illustrated London News," dated June 20, 1903; and the "English Mechanic," dated July 3 of the same year.

Finally, I must here convey my very sincere thanks to three kind helpers in the work of this Hydraulicicon resuscitation, *viz.*: to Mr. A. Hunter, of Clapham, for the gift of the pipes; to Mr. T. Harrison, of Drummond Street, Euston Square, for similarly presenting the crank-keys; and to the Director of the above "English Mechanic," for the Printing-Block from which has been largely put forth the Set of Drawings of the Hydraulic Organ that has formed the subject of the present Paper.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The hour is very late, and I am afraid we shall not be able to have a very long discussion. Perhaps that is rather fortunate, because I fancy there are very few in this room who know much about the subject. I have seen various drawings of hydraulic organs, but I never understood them, and I must confess at this moment that I still do not understand them. I knew both Rimbault and Chappell most intimately, and I remember they were always quarrelling about the hydraulic organ; each practically told the other he was an impostor; and that seems to have been the general state of things between writers on the subject ever since the instrument was drawn. I am not inclined to place much faith in any description. When you refer to ancient drawings you must remember they were often the fanciful inventions of the persons who painted them or wrote about them. Much in the same way you will see in old ecclesiastical documents paintings of devils; surely we are not going to maintain that they actually saw a gentleman with a spear at the end of his tail. One thing that makes me extremely sceptical is Mr. Warman's reference to fingering. Now of fingering there was none at that time. You can see how the organ was played in the time of Gafurius. There is a picture published in 1518, where the player is an organ-smiter; he had to hit a lever with his fist to make it go down. As to harmony, that was impossible. It is extremely interesting to hear that probably the wind went direct to the pipe; if so, of course it must have been a very terrible business. But in these days we have an instance in which the wind goes directly to the reed, and if it is judiciously used by a musician who knows how to

manage the bellows, an admirable effect can be obtained. You see this, for instance, in the expression stop of the Alexandre harmonium. I for my part do not for a moment believe—I am not saying this with any offensive intention at all—in a man being told off to jump about on the bellows at the order of the man who was directing the performance, because I think that expression as we understand it is comparatively a modern invention. Whatever expression the ancients had, probably consisted merely of a doubling or quadrupling of the force employed; but they had no sense of expression as we understand it, consisting of a gradual *crescendo* and *diminuendo*, and therefore I regard this interpretation which represents men as standing on the bellows with a view to expression as being merely a dream. I am not capable of giving any opinion on this model. I am equally ignorant with poor old Dr. Burney; but I think most people who have tried to find out anything about this hydraulic organ have got into trouble. I know that Stainer told me that Chappell's drawing was manipulated to bring it into accordance with his own views. I think that is what most writers have done. I really do not know that I need say much, except that I have no belief in it. We have had a very interesting lecture, but I have no doubt that if we get someone else to put forward his views we shall have a perfectly different account from what we have had to-day.

MISS SCHLESINGER.—I have had in my possession since 1898 a complete set of photographs (back, front and sides) of what I believe is the only perfect model of the hydraulic organ yet discovered, and such as was in use in the first and second centuries of our era; this terra-cotta model was excavated at Carthage. I showed these photographs to Mr. Hipkins in 1898, and to Mr. Galpin in 1900, and both were delighted to see them; they recognised at once that this model did indeed represent the hydraulic organ of the beginning of our era. From these photographs Mr. Galpin at once began to construct an exact facsimile of the hydraulic organ 4 ft. high—that is, half size. The figure of the organist formed a basis for calculations of the dimensions. The description of Vitruvius tallied exactly with the Carthage model, and by following these closely Mr. Galpin produced a perfect working-model with three rows of pipes, three registers, and a keyboard with nineteen balanced keys. The fundamental principle is similar to that shown by Mr. Warman, with the exception of a few details, such as valves; but Mr. Warman's model has not the outward form of the hydraulic organ, and gives but a feeble idea of its development under the Romans, being founded upon drawings made during the Middle Ages when the instrument itself was no longer known. These drawings, which illustrate the

different editions and translations of Hero and Vitruvius, were fanciful drawings, not made from any practical knowledge of the hydraulic organ (which to my belief died out in the tenth or eleventh centuries at the latest), but were merely working drawings made by the translators according to their understanding of the descriptions given by Hero and Vitruvius. It is known that the original diagrams were lost, and that no record of them had been traced. With regard to balanced keys, Mr. Hipkins told me that he was delighted to find that the words he had written on the subject in his "History of the Pianoforte," and quoted by Mr. Warman, were entirely confirmed by the discovery of this organ in Carthage. Anyone who cares to look at the photographs will discover that the principle of balanced keys which Mr. Warman has exhibited in his little model is perfectly correct and quite compatible with the original instrument known and described by Hero and Vitruvius. I should like to point out that I think the pneumatic organ was known before the principle of hydraulics was applied by Ctesibius, if only for this reason: None of the reputed inventors or men who have written descriptions of the hydraulic organ were musicians. They were mathematicians, mechanicians, and pneumaticists, who merely improved upon the mechanism of the pneumatic organ by employing water to furnish wind-pressure instead of the bellows. I have a rubbing from a tomb in Rome representing what I believe is the earliest complete representation of a pneumatic organ yet found; the organ has twelve pipes, and the bellows are distinctly visible just under the keyboard, which is also very clear, and similar to that in the Carthage organ. I have here a reproduction, in a book on the organ by Mr. Abdy Williams, of Mr. Galpin's hydraulic organ, which I shall be pleased to show to anyone who is interested. I should like to point out, in case anyone is interested in the matter, and as I did in 1898 in a series of articles in *Music* on the "Early Organs of the Middle Ages," that the drawing of the hydraulic organ in the Eadwine Psalter, at Cambridge, cannot by any possibility be termed a drawing of an English organ of the eleventh century by an Anglo-Saxon, for the MS. is merely a copy of the famous Utrecht Psalter which was written between the sixth and eighth centuries, and bears unmistakable signs of Eastern origin; it probably came from Alexandria. There are two other more or less incomplete MS. copies of this fine MS. in the British Museum, one of which reproduces the same drawing as the one in the Eadwine Psalter. The hydraulic organs from the Utrecht Psalter (Ps. 150 and 151) which are reproduced in my articles in *Music* give more correct indications of the mechanism than those in the copies; they show two

water receptacles, each with a pnigeus, and four cylinders instead of three, as in the Eadwine Psalter. I believe that the reason why sliders are seen in representations of organs so late as the eleventh century is that after the time of the decadence of the Roman Empire, when the glory of Greek music was gone, and traditions were all that remained, the art of music had to start afresh in Western Europe. All instruments, the growth of which we trace through the illuminated MSS. and sculptures of the Middle Ages, are very crude, and to me they seem to show that Western Europe had to learn the art of making instruments over again, because in many cases we find much more perfect representations belonging to the first or second century than we find in the tenth or twelfth; therefore I think that, though these balanced keys were evidently known in the time of Vitruvius, those who lived in the eighth and ninth centuries knew nothing about them, or only in a very vague manner, and they had to find out how to make them work. Finally I wish to apologise for bringing forward so many facts after Mr. Warman's exceedingly interesting lecture, but this has been my favourite study for many years. I am still collecting materials and studying the history of the early organs; I thought therefore that these few points in the archæology of the hydraulic organ, which had escaped Mr. Warman's notice, might prove of interest.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We have to thank our lecturer for the trouble he has taken over the lecture we have heard, and also in preparing his model. It is one of the glories of all research that it is always subject to correction and additional information; and I am sure he will be pleased if what he has done to-day has contributed to the enlargement of our knowledge of a somewhat obscure subject.

MR. WARMAN.—I need only say that your Chairman has exactly expressed what I feel. If I have contributed in ever so small a degree to the elucidation of the subject I am amply satisfied.

(A vote of thanks was passed unanimously.)

FEBRUARY 9, 1904.

DR. CHARLES MACLEAN, M.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

*THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL OPERA
IN RUSSIA.*

(FOURTH PAPER.)

TCHAIKOVSKY.

BY MRS. NEWMARCH.

THE first æsthetic impressions of an artist's childhood are rarely quite obliterated in his subsequent career. Often we may trace some peculiar quality of a man's genius back to the very traditions he imbibed in the nursery. Therefore, despite Browning's sarcasm, it is not always mere sensational curiosity which prompts the question "What porridge had John Keats?"

Tchaikovsky's earliest musical sustenance was derived from an unusual source: from that instrument so dear to Russian hearts,—and judging from their restaurants so indispensable to Russian digestions—a fine and resonant orchestration.

I speak with feeling and practical experience on this subject; because, during a visit to Moscow, the chambermaid having revealed to the waiter that I was writing a book on the immortal Peter Ilich, he invariably turned on the *Adagio Lamentoso* from the "Pathetic" Symphony as an accompaniment to my modest repasts. This, as you can imagine, had its monotonies, in fact there were times when I should have certainly welcomed an air from the "Geisha," the next popular selection. The Tchaikovsky family, who boasted no skilled performers, had one of these instruments sent from the

capital to their official residence among the Ural Mountains. Peter Ilich, then about six years old, was never tired of hearing its operatic selections; but when the orchestration played *Zerlina's* aria, or anything from "*Don Juan*," he experienced, to use his own words, "a sense of beatific happiness." In after life he declared that to this mechanical contrivance he owed his passion for Mozart and his unchanging affection for the music of the Italian School. I wonder no enterprising firm has discovered this fact and utilized it for advertising purposes.

It is certain that while Glinka was influenced by Beethoven, Serov by Wagner and Meyerbeer, Cui by Chopin and Schumann, Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov by Liszt and Berlioz, Tchaikovsky never ceased to blend with the characteristic melody of his country an echo of the sensuous beauty of the South.

This reflection of what was gracious and ideally beautiful in Italian music is undoubtedly one of the secrets of Tchaikovsky's great popularity with the public. It is a concession to human weakness of which we gladly avail ourselves, although as moderns who have graduated in a superior school, we prefer to worship the old gods of melody under a new name. Long ago, in something like a phase of intellectual snobbery, we cut the old Italian ideals which had given us many an hour of enjoyment; but, consciously or not, we salute them once more when we meet them in company with the popular Russian composer.

Tchaikovsky began quite early in life to frequent the Italian Opera in Petersburg; consequently his musical tastes developed far earlier on the dramatic than on the symphonic side. He knew and loved the operatic masterpieces of the Italian and French Schools long before he knew the Symphonies of Beethoven or any of Schumann's works. His first opera, "*The Voyevoda*," was composed about a year after he left the Petersburg Conservatoire, in 1866. He had just been appointed Professor of Harmony at Moscow, but was still completely unknown as a composer. At this time he was fortunate enough to make the acquaintance of the great dramatist Ostrovsky, who generously offered to supply his first libretto. In spite of the prestige of the author's name, it was not altogether satisfactory, for Ostrovsky had originally written "*The Voyevoda*" as a comedy in five acts, and in adapting it to suit the requirements of conventional opera many of its best features had to be sacrificed.

The music was pleasing and quite Italian in style. This work coincides with Tchaikovsky's orchestral fantasia "*Fatum*" or "*Destiny*" and also with the most romantic love-episode of his life—his fascination for Madame Desiré-Artôt,

then the star of Italian Opera in Moscow. Thus all things seemed to combine at this juncture in his career to draw him towards dramatic art, and especially towards Italianised opera.

"The Voyevoda," given at the Grand Opera, Moscow, in January, 1869, provoked the most opposite critical opinions. It does not seem to have satisfied Tchaikovsky himself, for having made use of some of the music in a later opera, "The Oprichnik," he destroyed the greater part of the score.

The composer's second operatic attempt was made with "Undine." This work, submitted to the Director of the Imperial Opera in Petersburg in 1869, was rejected, and the score mislaid by some careless official. When after some years it was discovered and returned to the composer, he put it in the fire without remorse. Neither of these immature efforts are worth serious consideration as affecting the development of Russian Opera.

"The Oprichnik" was begun in January, 1870, and completed in April, 1872. Tchaikovsky attacked this work in a complete change of spirit. This time his choice fell upon a purely national and historical subject. Lajechnikov's tragedy "The Oprichnik" is based upon an episode of the period of Ivan the Terrible, and possesses qualities which might well appeal to a composer of romantic proclivities. A picturesque setting, dramatic love and political intrigue, a series of effective—even sensational—situations, and finally several realistic pictures from national life; all these things might have been turned to excellent account in the hands of a skilled librettist. Unluckily the book was not well constructed, while in order to comply with the demands of the Censor, the central figure of the tragedy—the Tyrant himself—had to be reduced to a mere nonentity. The most serious error, however, was committed by Tchaikovsky himself, when he grafted on to "The Oprichnik," with its crying need for national colour and special treatment, a portion of the pretty Italianised music of "The Voyevoda."

The interpolation of half an act from a comedy subject into the libretto of an historical tragedy confused the action without doing much to relieve the lurid and sombre atmosphere of the piece.

The title of this opera is sometimes rendered into English by the misleading equivalent of "The Lifeguardsman." The "Oprichniks" were the "bloods" and dandies of the court of Ivan the Terrible. Young noblemen of wild and dissolute habits who bound themselves together by sacrilegious vows to protect the Tyrant and carry out his evil desires. Their unbridled insolence, the tales of their black masses and secret crimes, and their utter disrespect for age or sex

made them the terror of the populace. The story of "The Oprichnik" will be found at full length in my book upon Tchaikovsky.

During its first season, this work was given fourteen times; so that its success—for a national opera—may be reckoned decidedly above the average. Those who represented the advanced school of musical opinion in Russia condemned its forms as obsolete. Cui, in particular, called it the work of a schoolboy who knew nothing of the requirements of the lyric drama, and pronounced it unworthy to rank with such masterpieces of the national school as Moussorgsky's "Boris Godounov" or Rimsky-Korsakov's "Maid of Pskov."

But the most pitiless of critics was Tchaikovsky himself, who declared that he always took to his heels during the rehearsals of the third and fourth acts to avoid hearing a bar of the music. "Is it not strange," he writes, "that in process of composition it seemed charming? But what disenchantment followed the first rehearsals! It has neither action, style, nor inspiration!"

Both judgments are too severe. "The Oprichnik" is not exactly popular, but it has never dropped out of the repertory of Russian Opera. A few years ago I heard it in Petersburg and noted my impressions. The characters, with the exception of the Lady Morozova, the Oprichnik's mother, are not strongly delineated; the subject is lurid, horror on horror's head accumulates; the Russian and Italian elements are incongruously blended; yet there are saving qualities in the work. Certain moments are charged with the most poignant dramatic feeling. In this opera, as even in the weakest of Tchaikovsky's music, there is something that appeals to our common humanity. The composer himself must have modified his early judgment, since he was actually engaged in remodelling "The Oprichnik" at the time of his death.

In 1872 the Grand Duchess Helena Pavlovna commissioned Serov to compose an opera on the subject of Gogol's Malo-Russian tale "Christmas Eve Revels." A celebrated poet, Polonsky, had already prepared the libretto, when the death of the Grand Duchess, followed by that of Serov himself, put an end to the scheme. Out of respect to the memory of this generous patron, the Imperial Musical Society resolved to carry out her wishes. A competition was organised for the best setting of Polonsky's text under the title of "Vakoula, the Smith," and Tchaikovsky's score carried off both first and second prizes. In after years he made considerable alterations in this work and renamed it "Cherevichek" ("The Little Shoes"). It is also known in foreign editions as "Le caprice d'Oxane."

Early in the seventies Tchaikovsky came under the ascendancy of Balakirev, Stassov, and other representatives

of the ultra-national and modern school. "Cherevichek," like the Second Symphony—which is also Malo-Russian in colouring—and the symphonic poems "Romeo and Juliet," "The Tempest," and "Francesca di Rimini," may be regarded as the outcome of this phase of influence.

The originality and captivating local colour, as well as the really poetical lyrics with which the book is interspersed, no doubt commended it to Tchaikovsky's fancy. Polonsky's libretto is a mere series of episodes, treated however with such art that he has managed to preserve the spirit of Gogol's text in the form of his polished verses. In "Cherevichek" Tchaikovsky makes a palpable effort to break away from conventional Italian forms and to write more in the style of Dargomijsky. But, as Stassov has pointed out, this more modern and realistic style is not so well suited to Tchaikovsky, because he is not at his strongest in declamation and recitative. Nor was he quite in sympathy with Gogol's racy humour which bubbles up under the veneer of Polonsky's elegant manner. Tchaikovsky was not devoid of a certain subdued and whimsical humour, but his laugh is not the boisterous reaction from despair which we find in so many Slav temperaments. "Cherevichek" fell as it were between two stools. The young Russian party, who had partially inspired it, considered it lacking in realism and modern feeling; while the public, who hoped for something lively, in the style of "Le Domino Noir," found an attempt at serious national opera, the thing which above all others bored them most.

The want of marked success in opera did not discourage Tchaikovsky. Shortly after his disappointment in "Cherevichek" he requested Stassov to furnish him with a libretto based on Shakespeare's "Othello." Stassov was slow to comply with this demand, for he believed the subject to be ill-suited to Tchaikovsky's genius. At last, however, he yielded to pressure; but the composer's enthusiasm cooled of its own accord, and he soon abandoned the idea.

During this winter (1876-1877) he was absorbed in the composition of the Fourth Symphony, which may partially account for the fact that "Othello" ceased to interest him. By May he had completed three movements of the Symphony, when suddenly the tide of operatic passion came surging back, sweeping everything before it. Friend after friend was consulted in the search for a suitable subject. The celebrated singer Madame Lavrovsky suggested Poushkin's popular novel in verse "Eugene Oniegin." "The idea," says Tchaikovsky, "struck me as curious. Afterwards, while eating a solitary meal in a restaurant, I turned it over in my mind and it did not seem bad. Reading the poem again, I was fascinated, I spent a sleepless night, the result of which

was the *mise en scene* of a charming opera upon Poushkin's poem." The Fourth Symphony was completely forgotten for a time. In my volume on Tchaikovsky I give a detailed account of "Eugene Oniegin," and some of my audience may remember its production under Mr. Henry J. Wood, during Signor Lago's opera season in the autumn of 1892. Time will not permit me to recapitulate the whole story. The subject was in many respects ideally suited to Tchaikovsky. The national colour suggested by a master hand, the delicate realism which Poushkin was the first to introduce into Russian poetry, the elegiac sentiment which pervades the work, and, above all, its intensely subjective character, were qualities which appealed to the composer's temperament.

In May, 1877, he wrote to his brother: "I know the opera does not give great scope for musical treatment, but a wealth of poetry, and a deeply interesting tale, more than atone for all its faults." And again, replying to some cautious critic, he flashes out in its defence: "Let it lack scenic effect, let it be wanting in action! I am in love with *Tatiana*, I am under the spell of Poushkin's verse, and I am drawn to compose the music as it were by an irresistible attraction." This was the true mood of inspiration—the only mood for success.

We must judge the opera "Eugene Oniegin" not so much as Tchaikovsky's greatest intellectual, or even emotional, effort, but as the outcome of a passionate, single-hearted impulse. Consequently the sense of joy in creation, of perfect reconciliation with his subject, is conveyed in every bar of the music. As a work of art, "Eugene Oniegin" defies criticism, as do some charming but illusive personalities. It would be a waste of time to pick out its weaknesses, which are many, and its absurdities, which are not a few. It answers to no particular standard of dramatic truth or serious purpose. It is too human, too lovable, to fulfil any lofty intention. One might liken it to the embodiment of some captivating, wayward, female spirit which subjugates all emotional natures, against their reason, if not against their will. The story is as obsolete as a last year's fashion-plate. The hero is the demon-hero of the early romantic reaction—"a Muscovite masquerading in the cloak of Childe Harold." His friend *Lensky* is an equally romantic being; more blighted than demoniac, and overshadowed by that gentle and fatalistic melancholy which endeared him still more to the heart of Tchaikovsky. The heroine is a survival of an even earlier type. *Tatiana*, with her young-lady-like sensibilities, her superstitions, her girlish gush, corrected by her primness of propriety, might have stepped out of one of Richardson's novels. She is a Russian *Pamela*; a belated example of the decorous female rudely shaken

by the French Revolution and doomed to final annihilation in the pages of Georges Sand. But in Russia, where the emancipation of women was of later date, this virtuous and victimized personage lingered on into the nineteenth century, and served as a foil to the Byronic and misanthropical heroes of Poushkin and Lermontov.

The music of "Eugene Oniegin" is the child of Tchaikovsky's fancy. Born of his passing love for the image of *Tatiana*, and partaking of her nature. Never rising to great heights of passion, nor touching depths of tragic despair. Tinged throughout by those moods of romantic melancholy and exquisitely tender sentiment which the composer and his heroine share in common.

The opera was first performed by the students of the Moscow Conservatoire in March, 1879. Perhaps the circumstances were not altogether favourable to its success; for although the composer's friends were unanimous in their praise, the public did not at first show extraordinary enthusiasm. Apart from the fact that the subject probably struck them as daringly unconventional and lacking in sensational developments, a certain section of purists were shocked at Poushkin's *chef d'œuvre* being mutilated for the purposes of a libretto, and resented the appearance of the almost canonized figure of *Tatiana* upon the stage. Gradually, however, "Eugene Oniegin" acquired a complete sway over the public taste and its serious rivals are now few in number.

From childhood Tchaikovsky had cherished a romantic devotion for the personality of Joan of Arc, about whom he had written a poem at the age of seven. After the completion of "Eugene Oniegin," looking round for a fresh operatic subject, his imagination reverted to the heroine of his boyhood. During a visit to Florence, in December, 1878, Tchaikovsky first approached this idea with something like awe and agitation. "My difficulty," he wrote, "does not lie in any lack of inspiration, but rather in its overwhelming force. The idea has taken furious possession of me. For three whole days I have been tormented by the thought that while the material is so vast, human strength and time amount to so little. I want to complete the whole work in an hour, as sometimes happens to one in a dream." From Florence, Tchaikovsky went to Paris for a few days, and by the end of December settled at Clarens, on the Lake of Geneva, to compose his opera in these peaceful surroundings. To his friend and benefactress, Frau von Meck, he wrote expressing his satisfaction with his music, but complaining of his difficulty in constructing the libretto. This task he had undertaken himself, using Joukovsky's translation of Schiller's poem as his basis. It is a pity he did not

adhere more closely to the original work, instead of substituting for Schiller's ending the gloomy and ineffective last scene of his own construction, in which *Joan* is actually represented at the stake surrounded by the leaping flames.

Tchaikovsky worked at "The Maid of Orleans" with extraordinary rapidity. He was enamoured of his subject and convinced of ultimate success. From Clarens he sent a droll letter to his friend and publisher Jurgenson, in Moscow, which refers to his triple identity as critic, composer, and writer of song-words. It is characteristic of the man in his lighter moods:—

"There are three celebrities in the world with whom you are well acquainted: the rather poor rhymers 'N. N.'; 'B. L.', formerly musical critic of the *Viedomosti*, and the composer and ex-professor Mr. Tchaikovsky. A few hours ago Mr. T. invited the other two gentlemen to the piano and played them the whole of the second act of 'The Maid of Orleans.' Mr. Tchaikovsky is very intimate with these gentlemen, consequently he had no difficulty in conquering his nervousness and played his new work with spirit and fire. You should have witnessed their delight . . . Finally the composer, who had long been striving to preserve his modesty intact, went completely off his head, and all three rushed on to the balcony like madmen to soothe their excited nerves in the fresh air."

"The Maid of Orleans" won little more than a *succès d'estime*. There is much that is effective in this opera, but at the same time it displays those weaknesses which are most characteristic of Tchaikovsky's unsettled convictions in the matter of style. The transition from an opera so Russian in colouring and so lyrical in sentiment as "Eugene Oniegin" to one so universal and heroic in character as "The Maid of Orleans," seems to have presented difficulties. Just as the national significance of "The Oprichnik" suffered from moments of purely Italian influence, so "The Maid of Orleans" contains incongruous lapses into the Russian style. What have the minstrels at the court of Charles VI. in common with a folk-song of Malo-Russian origin? Or why is the song of *Agnes Sorel* so reminiscent of the land of the steppes and birch forests? The gem of the opera is undoubtedly *Joan's* farewell to the scenes of her childhood, which is full of touching, idyllic sentiment.

In complete contrast to the fervid enthusiasm which carried him through the creation of "The Maid of Orleans" was the spirit in which Tchaikovsky started upon his next opera. One of his earliest references to "Mazeppa" occurs in a letter to Frau von Meck, written in the spring of 1882. "A year ago," he says, "Davidov (the 'cellist) sent me the libretto of 'Mazeppa,' adapted by Bourenin from

Poushkin's poem 'Poltava.' I tried to set one or two scenes to music, but made no progress. Then one fine day I read the libretto again and also Poushkin's poem. I was stirred by some of the verses, and began to compose the scene between *Maria* and *Mazeppa*. Although I have not experienced the profound creative joy I felt while working at 'Eugene Oniegin,' I go on with the opera because I have made a start and in its way it is a success."

As some children are proverbially supposed to come into existence with silver spoons in their mouths, so we may say of "Mazeppa" that not one of Tchaikovsky's operas was born to a more splendid destiny. In August, 1883, a special meeting was held by the directors of the Grand Opera in Petersburg to discuss the simultaneous production of the opera in both capitals. Tchaikovsky was invited to be present, and was so astonished at the lavishness of the proposed expenditure that he felt convinced the Emperor himself had expressed a wish that no expense should be spared in mounting "Mazeppa." It is certain the royal family took a great interest in this opera, which deals with so stirring a page in Russian history.

The *Mazeppa* of Poushkin's masterpiece does not resemble the imaginary hero of Byron's romantic poem. He is dramatically but realistically depicted as the wily and ambitious soldier of fortune; a brave leader, at times an impassioned lover, and an inexorable foe. Tchaikovsky has not given a very powerful musical presentment of this daring and passionate Cossack, who defied even Ivan the Terrible himself. But the characterization of the heroine's father *Kochubey*, the tool and victim of *Mazeppa's* ambition, is altogether admirable. The monologue in the tower of *Bielotserkovsky*, where *Kochubey* is kept a prisoner after *Mazeppa* has treacherously laid upon him the blame of his own conspiracy, is one of Tchaikovsky's finest pieces of declamation. Most of his critics are agreed that this number, with *Tatiana's* famous "Letter Scene" in the second act of "Eugene Oniegin," are the gems of his operatic works, and display his powers of psychological analysis at their highest.

The character of *Maria*, the unfortunate heroine of this opera, is also finely conceived. Tchaikovsky is almost always stronger in the delineation of female than of male characters. "In this respect," says Cheshikin, in his brochure upon Russian Opera, "he is the Tourgeniev of music." *Maria* has been separated from her first love by the passion with which the fascinating Hetman of Cossacks succeeds in inspiring her. She only awakens from her infatuation when she discovers all his cruelty and treachery towards her father. After the execution of the latter, and

the confiscation of his property, the unhappy girl becomes crazed, like Ophelia. She wanders back to the old homestead and arrives just in time to witness an encounter between *Mazeppa* and her first lover, *Andrew*. *Mazeppa* wounds *Andrew* fatally, and having now attained all his ends abandons the poor mad girl to her fate. Then follows the most pathetic scene in this, or perhaps in any opera. *Maria* does not thoroughly recognise her old lover, nor does she realise that he is dying. Taking the young Cossack in her arms, she speaks to him as to a child, and unconsciously lulls him into the sleep of death with a graceful, innocent slumber song. This melody, so remote from the tragedy of the situation, produces an effect more poignant than any dirge. It is like a child playing with the flowers on a grave. "*Mazeppa*," partly because of the unrelieved gloom of the subject, is not a popular work. Yet it holds its place in the repertory of Russian Opera, and deservedly, since it contains some of Tchaikovsky's finest inspirations.

"*Charodeika*," or "*The Enchantress*," followed "*Mazeppa*" in 1887, and was a further step towards purely dramatic and national opera. Tchaikovsky himself thought highly of this work, and declares he was attracted to it by a long-rooted desire to illustrate in music the saying of Goethe: "*das Ewigweibliche zieht uns hinan*," and to demonstrate the fatal witchery of woman's beauty as Verdi had done in "*La Traviata*" and Bizet in "*Carmen*." "*The Enchantress*" was first performed at the Mariinsky Theatre, Petersburg, in October, 1887. Tchaikovsky himself conducted the first performances, and, having hoped for a success, it was a deep mortification when, on the fourth performance, he mounted to the conductor's desk without a sign of applause. For the first time the composer complained bitterly of the attitude of the press, to whom he attributed this failure. As a matter of fact, the criticisms upon "*Charodeika*" were less hostile than on some previous occasions; but perhaps for this reason they were none the less damning. It had become something like a pose to misunderstand any effort on Tchaikovsky's part to develop the purely dramatic side of his musical gifts. He was certainly very strongly attracted to lyric opera; and it was probably as much natural inclination as deference to critical opinion which led him back to this form in "*The Queen of Spades*" ("*Pique-Dame*").

The libretto of this opera, one of the best ever set by the composer, was originally prepared by M. Modeste Tchaikovsky for another musician, who afterwards declined to make use of it. In 1889 the Director of the Opera suggested that the subject would suit Tchaikovsky himself. The opera was commissioned, and all arrangements made for its production

before a note of it was written. The actual composition was completed in six weeks, during a visit to Florence.

The story of "The Queen of Spades" is borrowed from a celebrated prose-tale of the same name, by the poet Poushkin. The hero is of the romantic type, like Manfred, René, Werther, or *Lensky* in "Eugene Oniegin," a type which always appealed to Tchaikovsky, whose cast of mind, with the exception of one or two peculiarly Russian qualities, seems far more in harmony with the romantic first than with the realistic second half of the nineteenth century.

Herman, a young lieutenant of hussars, is a passionate gambler. He falls in love with *Lisa*, whom he has only met walking in the Summer Garden in Petersburg. He discovers that she is the grand-daughter of an old *Countess*, once well known as "the belle of Petersburg," but celebrated in her old age as the most assiduous and fortunate of card-players. On account of her uncanny appearance and reputation she goes by the name of "Pique-Dame." These two women exercise a kind of occult influence over the impressionable *Herman*. With *Lisa* he forgets the gambler's passion in the sincerity of his love. With the old *Countess* he finds himself a prey to the most sinister apprehensions and impulses. Rumour has it that the *Countess* possesses the secret of three cards, the combination of which is accountable for her extraordinary luck at the gaming-table. *Herman*, who is needy and knows that without money he can never hope to win *Lisa*, determines at any cost to discover the *Countess's* secret. *Lisa* is just betrothed to the wealthy *Prince Yeletsky*, but she loves *Herman*. Under pretext of an assignation with *Lisa*, he manages to conceal himself in the old lady's bedroom at night. When he suddenly appears, intending to make her divulge her secret, he gives her such a shock that she dies of fright without telling him the names of the cards. *Herman* goes half-mad with remorse, and is perpetually haunted by the apparition of the *Countess*, who now shows him the three fatal cards.

The night after her funeral he goes to the gaming-house and plays against his rival *Yeletsky*. Twice he wins on the cards shown him by the *Countess's* ghost. On the third card he stakes all he possesses, and turns up—not the expected ace, but "The Queen of Spades." At that moment he sees a vision of the *Countess*, who smiles triumphantly and vanishes. *Herman* in despair puts an end to his life.

It is difficult in a few words to do justice to a subject which is really intensely dramatic, and the thrill of which is enhanced by the introduction of a supernatural element. The work entirely engrossed Tchaikovsky. "I composed this opera with extraordinary joy and fervour," he wrote to the Grand Duke Constantine, "and experienced so vividly in

myself all that happens in the tale, that at one time I was actually afraid of the spectre of 'The Queen of Spades.' I can only hope that all my creative fervour, my agitation and my enthusiasm will find an echo in the hearts of my audience." In this he was not disappointed. "The Queen of Spades," first performed in Petersburg in December, 1890, soon took a strong hold on the public, and now vies in popularity with "Eugene Oniegin."

I cannot understand why this opera has never found its way to the English stage. Less distinctively national than "Eugene Oniegin," its psychological problem is stronger, its dramatic appeal more direct; consequently I think it would have a greater chance of success.

"Iolanthe," a lyric opera in one act, was Tchaikovsky's last production for the stage. It was first given in Petersburg in December, 1893, shortly after the composer's death. "In 'Iolanthe,'" says Cheshikin, "Tchaikovsky has added one more tender and inspired creation to his gallery of female portraits . . . a figure reminding us both of Desdemona and Ophelia." The music of "Iolanthe" is not strong, but it is pervaded by an atmosphere of tender and inconsolable sadness; by something which seems a faint and weak echo of the profoundly emotional note sounded in the "Pathetic" Symphony.

We may sum up Tchaikovsky's operatic development as follows: Beginning with conventional Italian forms in "The Oprichnik" he passed in "Cherevichek" to more modern methods, to the use of melodic recitative and arioso; while "Eugene Oniegin" shows a combination of both these styles. This *first* operatic period is purely *lyrical*. Afterwards, in "The Maid of Orleans," "Mazeppa," and "Charodeika," he passed through a *second* period of *dramatic* tendency. With "Pique-Dame" he reaches perhaps the height of his operatic development; but this work is the solitary example of a *third* period which we may characterize as *lyrico-dramatic*. In "Iolanthe" he shows a tendency to return to simple lyrical forms.

At the conclusion of my paper, the question may not unnaturally arise: Will Tchaikovsky survive as long by his operatic as by his symphonic works? The answer, as I see it, is clear; yet it involves considerations as complex and paradoxical as was the entire development of the composer himself. From the outset of his career he was equally attracted to the dramatic and symphonic elements in music. Of the two, opera had perhaps the greater attraction for him. The very intensity of its fascination seems to have stood in the way of his complete success. Once bitten by an operatic idea, he went blindly and uncritically forward, believing in his subject, in the quality of his work, and in its ultimate

triumph, with that kind of undiscerning optimism to which the normally pessimistic sometimes fall unaccountable victims. The history of his operas repeats itself: a passion for some particular subject, feverish haste to embody his ideas, certainty of success; then disenchantment, self-criticism, and the hankering to re-make and re-model which pursued him through life.

Of Tchaikovsky's eight operas, two only have so far achieved popular success: "Eugene Oniegin" and "The Queen of Spades." The others have enjoyed in varying degrees the negative triumphs of a *succès d'estime*; but these two alone seem constantly and permanently acceptable. Considering Tchaikovsky's reputation, and the fact that his operas were never allowed to languish in obscurity, but were all brought out under the most favourable circumstances, there must be some reason for this lukewarm attitude on the part of the public, of which he himself was often painfully aware. The choice of *libretti* may have had something to do with this; for the books of "The Oprichnik" and "Mazeppa," though dramatic, are exceedingly lugubrious. But Polonsky's charming text to "Cherevichok" should at least have pleased a Russian audience. Besides, the success of an opera must really be far less dependent on the libretto than some people imagine; for no one can seriously contend that the mythical subjects of the "Nibelungen Ring" possess any profound human significance, or that as literature apart from the music they can appeal to adult intelligence.

We must find another reason for the comparative failure of so many of Tchaikovsky's operas. It was not, I think, that the subjects in themselves were poor, as that they did not always suit the particular temperament of the composer; and he rarely took this important fact sufficiently into consideration. Tchaikovsky's outlook was essentially subjective, individual, particular. He himself knew very well what was requisite for the creation of a great and effective opera: "breadth, simplicity, and an eye to decorative effect," as he says in a letter to a friend. But it was exactly in these qualities, which would have enabled him to treat such subjects as "The Oprichnik," "The Maid of Orleans," and "Mazeppa" with greater power and freedom, that Tchaikovsky was lacking. In all these operas there are beautiful moments; but they are almost invariably the moments in which individual emotion is worked up to intensely subjective expression, or phases of elegiac sentiment in which his own temperament could have full play.

Tchaikovsky had great difficulty in escaping from his intensely emotional personality, and in viewing life through any eyes but his own. He reminds us of one of those actors who, with all their power of touching our hearts, never

thoroughly conceal themselves under the part they are acting. Now opera, above all, cannot be "a one-man piece." For its successful realisation it demands breadth of conception, variety of sentiment and sympathy, powers of subtle adaptability to all kinds of situations and emotions other than our own. In short, opera is the one form of musical art in which the objective outlook is indispensable. Whereas in lyric poetry self-revelation is a virtue, in the drama self-restraint and breadth of view are absolute conditions of greatness and success. We find the man reflected in Shakespeare's sonnets, but humanity in his plays. Tchaikovsky's nature was undoubtedly too emotional and self-centred for dramatic uses. To say this is not to deny his genius; it is merely an attempt to show its qualities and its limitations. Tchaikovsky had genius, as Shelley, as Byron, as Heine, as Lermontov had genius; not as Shakespeare, as Goethe, as Wagner had it. As Byron could never have conceived "Julius Cæsar" or "Twelfth Night," so Tchaikovsky could never have composed such an opera as "The Meistersinger." Of Tchaikovsky's operas, the two which seem destined to live longest are those into which he was able, by the nature of their literary contents, to infuse most of his own temperament and lyrical inspiration. All the rest contain beauties of a high order. They will bear comparison with many more successful modern operas, and it seems a pity they are so rarely heard in or out of Russia. But the public is a despotic force; it will only have what it wants, and very often has the instinct to choose the best.

It is when we compare Tchaikovsky with himself that one half of his work appears less satisfactory than the other. The vitality of his operas is not in my opinion equal to that of his symphonic works, in which temperament has undisputed right of expression. These must assuredly live and appeal to humanity, so long as there are temperaments akin to that of Tchaikovsky in the world. And when will there cease to exist natures made for suffering? Hearts whose ideals are mocked by the realities of life? Delicate spirits broken on the wheel of the Inevitable? Aspiring souls who soar only to be confronted by the impenetrable mystery of death and the futility of all human speculation? And the cry of these tormented and baffled spirits rings out in the intensely subjective symphonic music of Tchaikovsky:—

O this gloomy world !

In what a shadow, or deep pit of darkness

Doth fearful mankind live !

We are only like dead walls, or vaulted graves,

That, ruined, yield no echo.

VOCAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. *Eugene Oniegin's* Aria (No. 12).
2. *Kochubey's* Monologue from "Mazeppa."
3. *Maria's* Berceuse from "Mazeppa."
4. *Pauline's* Air (Russian style) from "Pique-Dame."

Mr. ROBERT MAITLAND.

MISS GRAINGER KERR.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—As the chairman is a sort of bridge between the lecturer and the audience, and as lecturers are our guests, the chairman must, I suppose, always agree with the lecturer whether he likes it or not. Fortunately I am in no such dilemma in the case of Mrs. Newmarch. I am aware that she has strong prepossessions in private. I am also aware that when she gets a pen in her hand no one is more logical or affords less chance for anyone to disagree with her. Her services to our English musical literature are becoming very considerable. Putting aside Press contributions, in 1888 she translated Deiters's "Life of Brahms" from the German. In 1895 she translated Habet's "Borodin and Liszt" from the French. In 1900 she wrote an original work on Tchaikovsky. She is on the point of bringing out a short biography of a living musician, which I have been allowed to see, and think a very brilliant performance; and she is editing the whole of that series of biographies. It is understood that she is now about to translate currently Modeste Tchaikovsky's life of his brother from the Russian. I daresay this is not all. Her "translations" are accompanied by much original matter. She is also a poet, and has lately produced a charming book of verse called "Horæ Amoris." In her first lecture on the present subject before the Association, on January 10, 1900, she lectured on the preliminary history, and on Glinka's folk-song basis. On February 11, 1902, she dealt with Dargomijsky, Moussorgsky, and Serov, who were interesting, though less national. On February 10, 1903, she went back to wholly national opera in the person of Borodin, and she threw in an account of César Cui. To-day is Tchaikovsky. My own views on these subjects would be perhaps too technical; to ventilate them would only sully the poetic thoughts which the lecturer has given us. You will observe that Mrs. Newmarch not only always gives us good lectures, but also always brings first-class artists with her.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the lecturer and performers.

MR. SOUTHGATE.—I do not think we ought to allow so excellent and instructive a paper to go by without at least a few words of approval from some of the members of this Association. Mrs. Newmarch, as usual, has told us a good deal we did not know, and possibly had she not come here we should never have known about these remarkable Russian composers of operatic music. There is possibly nothing controversial in her statements, but I might make a remark on the suggestion that the operas of these composers have not taken the hold on the public that Tchaikovsky's instrumental music has. The lecturer thought that instrumental music appealed more to humanity, whereas the operas were more of a personal nature. That is of course true; but is there not also another reason probably—a pecuniary and practical reason? It is not very difficult or expensive to perform in a concert room symphonies or orchestral variations; but to produce an opera is a very expensive undertaking. More than this, it has to be repeated a great many times, otherwise it is impossible to make it pay. I cannot help thinking that one reason why these operas are not known here is the heavy cost they would throw on *entrepreneurs*, and possibly that they would not suit our English taste. Tchaikovsky is a particularly national composer. He loved his country, and he endeavoured to put into his music just those national accents which belong to the music of his own country; one is not quite certain when these are transplanted whether they would be so thoroughly appreciated as they are in Russia. I must confess I am a little doubtful, because when you come to think of it, the operas are all on Russian subjects, whereas most of the great composers who have written operas have not confined themselves to their own nationality or the tales of their own country, but have gone wider—Meyerbeer for instance; therefore the operas have a somewhat wider field. But it must be confessed when one has heard those beautiful illustrations that have been put before us this evening, that one feels anxious to hear more, and to know something further of the music of a man who entered so thoroughly into his subject as did Tchaikovsky. I think that monologue which is sung in the prison is most pathetic, intense music. Tchaikovsky has thoroughly risen to the situation by not giving that in measured music; he is too agitated to sing in measure and with just accent and rhythm, but he speaks as the feelings come from his heart, and that naturally takes the form of a very strongly-developed recitative. I cannot help feeling that it was a stroke of genius to set it in the form that he adopted. Then how passionate is that passage where the hero is awaiting his death

sentence! And when he hears the rest coming how immediately the music falls! He feels his hour is come; fate has decreed he is to die, and he is prepared. Then in the slumber song, what an original tune that was! If I mistake not, it was in 4-4 time. Most slumber songs are in 6-8, but Tchaikovsky has been able to add something new and original in that respect. Then again, the sweet little lament that was sung—how picturesque it was! How deeply illustrative of the Slavonic temperament! One feels that that is just the music that is sung in Russia. It suits the character; it is the expression of the soul.

Dr. JOHN POLLEN.—As a visitor I should like to express my profound appreciation of the very admirable, high-toned criticism of this great composer which Mrs. Newmarch has given us. I listened with close attention and with surprised amazement, and I envy her the clearness of diction and the lofty expression with which she conveyed her sentiments. I think we owe her a great debt of gratitude for her kindness, and as a member of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society, in which capacity I first had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Newmarch, I desire to express my thanks to her.

Mr. SOUTHGATE.—I ought to make one correction in what I said as to the entirely national character of the subjects Tchaikovsky used—I mean "Joan of Arc." It has often been made the subject of opera; we have a very fine example by Moszkowski; Sterndale Bennett also wrote a "Joan of Arc" Sonata. May I add one word as to something that struck me in Mr. Maitland's singing? I refer to his most excellent and clear pronunciation of the words. It really was a delight to hear such words. Whether they were German or whether they were English, one heard every single word. I wish we could say the same of all our singers.

Mrs. NEWMARCH.—With reference to Mr. Southgate's remarks as to what I said about the comparative unpopularity of Tchaikovsky's operas, I meant it not so much in regard to England as to Russia itself. There is no doubt that only two of his operas have attained popularity in his native land; and this seems strange when we consider the extraordinary popularity of his instrumental music. Abroad I think too much stress has been laid on the fact of Tchaikovsky being a very national composer. Personally I think the humanity of his music is more conspicuous than its nationality; and this is the reason why his instrumental music has been so well received all over the civilized world; whereas music that is purely national in character could hardly be expected to become popular in England or other countries. I thank Dr. John Pollen as a member of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society for coming here to-day, and for his kind references to my work.

MARCH 8, 1904.

A. H. D. PRENDERGAST, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

ALESSANDRO SCARLATTI.

BY EDWARD J. DENT, M.A.

At a time when so many obscure composers are rediscovered and reprinted in sumptuous volumes, that for the most part are issued only to grow as dusty on their shelves as the original manuscripts which their industrious editors have so laboriously collated, I need not apologise for bringing to your notice a composer who has been more neglected than any, and who has deserved neglect a good deal less than most.

Alessandro Scarlatti was in his lifetime the most celebrated composer in all Europe, though probably Corelli, who was an executant as well, enjoyed a still greater fame. We still play Corelli, mainly, I fancy, because his music is not only beautiful, but easy too—a somewhat rare combination: Scarlatti is barely remembered at all. Indeed, not only is he forgotten by the general musical public, but the dictionaries, be they recent or contemporary, have curiously little to say about him. However, there does exist, scattered over the various libraries and archives of Europe, a very large amount of material, both biographical and musical, and in recent years a fair amount of research has been done upon it by various persons, though in a rather spasmodic way. To put all this into order for presentation to the musical student is a matter of considerable labour, and to compress it all into an hour's lecture is an impossibility. The biographical material alone, which I thought so extraordinarily scanty when I first took up the subject, has since turned out to be so voluminous, and, I think, so interesting, that I could

easily occupy an hour with that alone, but I have thought it better on this occasion to keep that within the smallest possible limits, and speak more at length of Scarlatti's music, and his position with regard to his predecessors and his followers. I am therefore compelled to ask you to take my statements on trust, though I can promise you all the references and documents in my biography of Scarlatti which will be published by Mr. Edward Arnold in the course of this year.

Alessandro Scarlatti was born in 1659, or possibly in the closing months of the previous year, in Sicily. Fétis asserted Trapani to be his birthplace, but on very slender evidence which we are unable to check now, and which is not borne out by any documents at Trapani. There is stronger evidence, though I am not firmly convinced, that he was born at Palermo. There is however no doubt whatever that he was born in Sicily, for he is called a Sicilian in many contemporary records. The name Scarlatti is not Sicilian, and if he came of a Sicilian family we may be pretty certain that it was originally Scarlata or Sgarlata; but it is also conceivable that his stock was Tuscan, Scarlatti being a Florentine name. Of his early years we know nothing; of his family we only know that he had a brother Francesco, and a sister Anna Maria, both musicians, one a violinist and composer, the other a singer.

The first that we hear of him is the production of an opera, "*Gli Equivoci nel Sembiante*," at Rome, in 1679. He was under the protection of Queen Christina of Sweden, then living in Rome, and next year he appears with the title of Maestro di Cappella to her. It is evident from the libretto of his next opera, "*L'Honestà negli Amori*" (1680), that he was a very young man—he was in fact twenty-one; that he was a new and unknown composer, at any rate in Rome, when "*Gli Equivoci*" was produced; and that the opera was an enormous success, being given within a year or so at Naples, Bologna, Piazzola near Venice, and probably Modena as well.

I will not bore you with a complete list of all his operas. A good many survive, but still more are lost that date from this period. In February, 1684, he was appointed Maestro di Cappella to the Viceregal Court at Naples; his brother was appointed a violinist, and his sister came too as a singer. The circumstances of the appointment were so scandalous that I cannot relate them here.

During this early period of his life Scarlatti was naturally a good deal under the influence of his predecessors. He is always supposed to have been a pupil of Carissimi, but it must be remembered that Carissimi died at an advanced age when Scarlatti was only fifteen. There are various other traditions about his musical education, but none rest

upon any sound foundation. What is really important to know is not from whom he received actual instruction, but by whom he was most influenced. This question is answered clearly by the evidence of his music, which points undoubtedly to Carissimi and Legrenzi. The influence of Carissimi, who was above all a harmonist, is stronger in his earliest work; that of Legrenzi, who stands for modern developments in form, came a little later: but both come early. For Scarlatti's early experiments in harmony we must go to the cantatas and the few surviving specimens of his early church music, and it is interesting to trace the same devices which we find in Purcell, and which had their common origin in the old Roman master Carissimi. But, whether by force of circumstances or natural inclination, Scarlatti did little in harmonic development on a contrapuntal basis. He is essentially a forerunner of the great classical school in that respect, paying much more attention to form than to polyphony. Not that he was by any means ignorant of contrapuntal technique: his masses show his mastery over the strict style, and almost every bar of his secular music shows that he had a sound contrapuntal education, although he never made a parade of it.

Sir Hubert Parry has pointed out in the "Oxford History of Music" how Legrenzi anticipated in his arias certain structural devices which are still more characteristic of Alessandro Scarlatti. Legrenzi and Scarlatti stand at the point where binary and ternary forms divide. In most seventeenth-century work the arias, which of course represent the most highly organized musical forms, since vocal music represented the highest development of execution and virtuosity, are fairly evenly divided between the binary and ternary forms; the majority I should say is in favour of the binary forms, and there is considerable use made of the ground bass. The ground bass is derived from the variation form, and it is clear that it was a valuable aid to composition at a time when there were fewer phraseological formulæ the common property of all composers. We are accustomed to think of the ground bass as typified in its earlier stages by *Dido's* lament in Purcell's opera, and in its later stages by Bach's "Passacaglia": a bass figure in long notes, so as to allow of the greatest possible harmonic variety about it, and keeping rigidly to the same key. But Legrenzi uses his ground in a different spirit, and Scarlatti goes still farther. With them an air on a ground meant that the most valuable idea in the composer's mind was not given to the voice, but put at once into the bass, where it could be used over and over again without monotony, and monotony was still further avoided by putting it into various keys. Alessandro Scarlatti did not use ground basses for very long: after about 1685 we

find none, and no binary airs at all except such as are obviously dance-movements: but his use of the ground is so interesting that I am going to give you an example of it.

The air which you are to hear is from his second opera, "L'Honestà negli Amori." The ground itself is a light and playful figure with a great deal of individuality. The air is in A minor.

The ground is played once in A minor as in introduction.

then twice in A minor,
then twice in E minor, bringing the section
definitely to a close in
the dominant.

then twice in C major: making a strongly
contrasting second sec-
tion.

Then it returns to A minor, in which we hear it
twice corresponding to the first part;
twice again, corresponding to the second part of
the first section; and
twice again, as a *coda*.

Finally, twice again, as an instrumental *ritornello*.

That by itself, disregarding the voice part, is a very neat piece of ternary form on a small scale, and considering its small scale it is fairly highly organized. But the voice part has an organization of its own. It does not correspond quite accurately with the organization of the bass, but is built up on the favourite seventeenth-century method of making one phrase out of another: a series of phrases stated and repeated, either varied or not, with no return of phraseology at the end.

I will leave you to realize for yourselves the extraordinary charm and delicacy of Scarlatti's music, its characteristic dactylic rhythm, and its curious combination, as it seems to modern ears at least, of playfulness and melancholy.

[Illustration: "Io per gioco vi mirai."]

Neither Rome nor Naples was a particularly favourable place for a young composer of operas. At Rome the Pope was of course all-powerful, and in some cases hostile to opera; certainly the way that people behaved in the opera-houses was anything but decorous, and although the Papal censure obliged the printed libretti to keep within the limits of ordinary decency, as well as to include a protest in which the author assured his readers that the allusions to the heathen gods and goddesses were merely *scherzi poetici* and not contrary to the Catholic faith, we may be pretty sure that when it came to action, gesture, and actors' interpolations the stage was no better than the audience. At Naples matters were probably worse, and—severest trial of all to a serious composer—the court demanded operas of a

popular nature. Some of Scarlatti's earlier operas at Naples were enormously successful, and deservedly so; I need only mention "*Pompeo*" (1684) and "*Pirro e Demetrio*" (1694), which contain many airs that are still occasionally sung, such as "*O cessate di piagarmi*" and "*Rugiadose, odorose.*" The latter, which is of course well known to you all, is very fairly representative of Scarlatti's best work at this period. But his work gradually changed its character until, with "*Eraclea*" (1700), and "*Laodicea e Berenice*" (1701) we find him writing in a sort of exaggerated "Handelian" style. Of course it is just this style which the young Handel heard in Italy and adopted as his own; but in Scarlatti's hands it sometimes reads like a caricature. Yet it was a good training in its way. It made him write very tersely and concisely, and taught him to use strong clear rhythms pointed by plain, straightforward harmonic successions, which gave his work that definitely theatrical tone that it had hitherto somewhat lacked. Still, it must have gone very much against the grain to have to pour out quantities of such stuff. There were, too, other reasons which made Naples unpleasant. His salary was in arrear, and there was every prospect of its continuing so, with the War of the Spanish Succession in view.

Scarlatti remembered his two powerful patrons, Prince Ferdinand of Tuscany and Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, and went to Rome. In 1704 he accepted a subordinate post at the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore, and was probably made Master of Cardinal Ottoboni's music as well. The life at Rome was irksome to him, judging from the letters which he wrote to Prince Ferdinand, and his main interest was the operas which he wrote for the prince's private theatre near Florence. It is one of our greatest misfortunes that these Florentine operas of Scarlatti's have entirely disappeared. You will hear presently to what magnificent heights he was capable of rising at this period, and it seems probable that the lost operas might well represent his best work. I suspect that the real reason why Scarlatti disliked Rome was that he was not a church musician in spirit. He has left a fair amount of sacred music, but much inferior to his other work. It is all masterly; some of it is technically very interesting, and some of it is quite beautiful from a purely musical point of view. But it is conspicuously wanting in sincerity of expression, and the church music of that time is so hampered by formal restrictions that sincerity is often badly wanted to save it from structural collapse. Yet Scarlatti had plenty to do at Rome outside his church. There were musical parties at Cardinal Ottoboni's and Prince Ruspoli's; there was Corelli, there was Bernardo Pasquini, and a variety of passing strangers, including young Handel. In 1706 the three

musicians Corelli, Scarlatti, and Pasquini were made members of the Arcadian Academy, and the records of that Society give us many a picturesque glimpse of their music-makings. If Scarlatti was the most distinguished composer of his day, Corelli held a position of singular veneration, only paralleled by that of Dr. Joachim in our own day. He was the best-known and most revered musical personality in Europe, though as a composer he was inferior to Scarlatti. Each influenced the other: Corelli's beautiful slow movements owe much to the vocal music of Scarlatti, and Scarlatti learnt new figures and new rhythms from the violinist. His productions at Rome were mostly church music, cantatas for a single voice, and serenatas for festive occasions; there was no opera in Rome at this time. But in 1707 he composed two operas for Venice—"Mitridate Eupatore" and "Il Trionfo della Libertà." Of these the first has survived complete: the second is represented only by a volume of airs with the bass and no string or wind parts; we can see however that it was not up to the level of "Mitridate." Probably "Mitridate" was a good deal over the heads of the audience even at Venice. It is, I think, the most interesting opera of Scarlatti's that has survived. It has a libretto of real literary value, though not always very dramatic; it is on a much larger scale than the others, and its plot turns on political events, instead of being a mere tangle of petty love-affairs after the stereotyped pattern. Indeed there are no love scenes. The hero and heroine are brother and sister, both married, and the villains are husband and wife as well. The opera is curiously unequal, but many dramatic points are well seized, and the characters are very sharply differentiated, notably the three women—*Laodice*, the tragic heroine; *Stratonica*, her wicked mother, who is an eighteenth-century *Ortrud*; and *Issicratea*, *Mitridate's* wife, who represents the domestic virtues. The finest scene is in the fourth act. *Stratonica* the queen has murdered her husband and raised her paramour *Farnace* to the throne. Her son *Mitridate* is lost, and she has guarded herself against *Laodice* her daughter by marrying her to a peasant. The story is of course borrowed from the "Electra" of Euripides. At the beginning of the opera a rumour is afloat that *Mitridate* has come back to avenge his father, and the guilty pair offer a reward for his head. Indeed *Mitridate* has come back, but in disguise, and, hearing of the reward, offers to bring the desired head himself. As he and his sister have not met since he was a child, they do not recognize each other. At the beginning of the fourth act *Mitridate* descends from his ship to the sound of a solemn funeral march (the ancestor, I think, of Handel's march in "Saul"), bearing in his hands an urn which is supposed to contain the head. *Laodice* appears and claims a sister's right to

bewail her murdered brother. She takes the urn in her hands, and in a page of superb recitative pours out her grief. *Mitridate* from this discovers her identity, but he does not reveal himself until she has finished the magnificent air in which she calls upon the urn to receive her own ashes as well, since she does not care to live when the last hope of seeing her long-lost brother has been destroyed. This air you shall hear: the recitative is not practicable for performance here, as it involves other characters as well as *Laodice*. You will notice how much Scarlatti has in common with John Sebastian Bach, although we may be fairly certain that he never saw a note of Bach's music. Whether Bach ever knew this opera I cannot say; but it is probable that he was familiar with some of Scarlatti's works.

[Illustration: "Cara tomba del mio diletto."]

By 1708 the kingdom of Naples was definitely in the hands of the Austrians, and Scarlatti was persuaded to return. The precise conditions of his tenure of office are a little difficult to ascertain, since the contemporary records give conflicting evidence. But he seems to have been very much in favour at the new Austrian court, and no doubt something of the Emperor Charles VI.'s musical enthusiasm reached Naples. Between 1708 and 1719 he produced numerous operas and serenatas as well as minor works, and his style entered upon yet another phase. His operas very seldom exhibit anything of that intensity of passion which is characteristic of "*Mitridate*," but they show a great improvement upon those of his previous Neapolitan period. He still keeps up the theatrical style, indeed he develops it a good deal, but he writes on a larger scale. His airs contain much more material than before. Then, the only contrast was between the first part and the second (I need not remind you that of course every air is in the regular *da capo* form), and not much at that; now, by enlarging the scheme he gets quite strongly contrasted material into both parts, as well as a sharp contrast between the parts themselves. We are obliged to admit that his work has lost in tenderness and charm, but it has gained immensely in vigour and in a certain sense of stage effect. He makes a very dramatic use of *coloratura*, though it is sometimes overdone. His treatment of the orchestra too has changed. In his early work his normal plan is to accompany all airs with the *continuo* throughout, keeping the strings rather in the background. They come in for a *ritornello* at the end or between the stanzas, in the very early stage where airs still have two stanzas, sometimes in the course of the song as well. But the main body of support to the voice is always provided by the cembalo, and we feel that the violins are used merely for colour, just as the trumpets are. As his style advances, and as violin-playing

improves under the influence of Corelli, the strings become more important, and the cembalo retires into the background until it becomes his normal procedure to accompany the voice with the strings only, without double basses, sometimes without even violoncellos, letting the basses, harpsichords, lutes, etc., enter in the *ritornelli* only. It is this stage of Scarlatti's work that seems to have had most influence on his immediate followers. Opera was just fixed in the stereotyped conventions on which Metastasio was to build up his still more conventionalizing style of libretti, and it was undoubtedly very brilliant and effective. Before the seventeenth century ended Scarlatti had fixed the form of the overture in its definite Italian shape, and he was rapidly arriving at a more genuinely orchestral style of writing. His overtures are seldom interesting as music, but they are interesting as studies in technical development towards the classical symphonic style. That, however, is too large and complicated a subject for me to treat here, especially as I have not an orchestra to play examples to you. Another convention of the Neapolitan opera was the comic *intermezzi*. Originating in the comedy of masks, we see the comic characters flit across the stage first of Venetian opera and then of Neapolitan; usually the comic servants of the hero and heroine, in the earlier dramas taking quite a prominent part in the action, and finally appearing only at the ends of the acts, until Apostolo Zeno and Metastasio cast them out altogether. Scarlatti has a very fair sense of humour; if not as funny as Leo and Logroscino, his pupils, he certainly is much more so than Pergolesi. But it is absurd to discourse on comic scenes if I cannot let you hear them, and it is hardly practicable on such an occasion as this to give an entire comic scene with its appropriate action, without which it necessarily loses much of its humour.

As an illustration of this period you shall hear an air from the famous opera "*Tigrane*" (1715), in which *Meroe*, the heroine, endeavours to express her love for *Tigrane*, her jealousy of the queen *Tomiri*, and her desire to avenge her father, who has been killed by *Tigrane*.

You will notice that although the air does not produce, at least to my mind, the impression of sincerity—though I admit that sincerity in music is a quality which it is very hard to determine—still it has a very passionate character. The incisive phrases are made still more incisive by being hammered in, as Alessandro is so fond of doing—a device which Domenico carries still farther, and Beethoven yet farther still. Notice too how the initial phrase is first stated as a variation by the violins, and the vigorous way in which they work up to a sudden diminished seventh, and in the

voice part the very characteristic use of *coloratura* on the word "sdegno"—three times—and, as the strongest possible contrast to this, the long holding notes on the word "pace." Scarlatti is indeed extraordinarily skilful, sometimes in fitting a number of the most diverse emotions, each distinctly characterized, into the strict limits of a formal aria, and always retaining, even at his most dramatic moments, a pure vocal style of melody.

[Illustration: "Son gelosa e sono amante."]

Scarlatti's last opera for Naples was "Cambise" (1719), his 111th opera. In the previous year he had written his one real comic opera, "Il Trionfo dell' Onore," a work full of life and humour, and the only one of his operas which could possibly bear revival. The same year also saw the first of a series of operas produced at the Capranica Theatre in Rome. Only three of these have survived entire, but we have material enough to see that he adopted yet another style.

Naples seems to have got tired of him, or he of Naples, and though he returned thither for the two or three years preceding his death, he was living mostly at Rome, and his post at Naples as Maestro di Cappella seems to have been purely honorary, as Francesco Mancini was doing his work and receiving his salary. These later Roman operas, "Telemaco," "Marco Attilio Regolo," "Griselda," and the revivals with almost entirely new music, as far as can be ascertained, of "Turno Aricino" and "Tito Sempronio Gracco," are for the most part on a very high level. We feel that he is writing for a large theatre and a good orchestra; there is a wonderful spaciousness about his style, and a much more vivid use of orchestral colour. Moreover he returns to the sincerity of expression that characterized "Mitridate." We notice too in these operas a frequent use of accompanied recitative, and of *ensemble* movements, though not as *finales*. He has several tentative experiments in *ensemble* in his earlier operas, the most interesting being a septet in "Eraclea"; but the real concerted *finale* is a thing of later growth, though it certainly made its appearance before Logroscino, who is generally credited with its invention. Interesting as these movements are, I cannot give you an opportunity of hearing specimens, for practical reasons, and my last illustration will be taken from Scarlatti's chamber-music.

I have already mentioned the "Cantate a voce sola." I have catalogued over five hundred of them, belonging to all stages in his career, though only a small minority—about seventy, if I remember rightly—can be dated with accuracy. They are all of much the same type, such as is described in the "Oxford History of Music"; but though there are of course many dry ones, they are very interesting to study in detail. The earlier cantatas are

much more narrative than the later ones ; indeed there are a few which are little more than lectures on Roman history, set to recitative. Scarlatti's style varies in the cantatas just as in the operas, and we may consider the former as being frequently studies for the latter. They are real chamber music, and, even if wanting in poetry at times, they are always intellectual, while the quiet atmosphere of the private *salon* often enabled him to work out some little problem in harmony, form, or expression that would have been tedious and ineffective on the stage. As might be expected, in his earlier work he generally aims at expression in the obvious declamatory style ; then, as he shakes off the transitional experimental tendencies of the seventeenth century for that calm spirit of classic dignity which characterized the eighteenth, he aims at expression through beauty of form and the extension of the new feeling for tonality. The airs which you have already heard will have shown you more clearly than any words how he steadily advances in his perception of key-relations, both diatonic and chromatic. He was regarded by his contemporaries as a very audacious and extravagant harmonist, and it is pretty evident that he sometimes rather enjoyed puzzling his hearers with modulations which to our ears sound logical enough. His skill in modulation is well illustrated by the air which will now be sung. It is from a cantata, and may safely be referred to the last decade of his life. I will not insult this learned body by giving an analysis of all the keys through which Scarlatti passes with the same easy ingenuity that Beethoven showed in his two well-known preludes. Indeed Scarlatti is more ingenious than Beethoven, for though he touches fewer keys, he does not travel by so straightforward a road. At a first hearing you will perhaps find the air more ingenious than beautiful ; its intervals are certainly curiously awkward for Scarlatti—at any rate that was my own impression of it when I first read it. But I have been studying it more carefully just lately, wishing to speak of it to-day, and I find that it grows upon me considerably.

[Illustration : “ Mio cor tu sei tradito.”]

Scarlatti's last important work was the unfinished serenata for the marriage of the Prince of Stigliano (1723), which is noteworthy for its picturesque sense of orchestral colour. And we probably ought to ascribe to this period the “ Stabat Mater ” for female voices and strings ; the more celebrated “ Stabat Mater ” of Pergolesi is said to have been written as a substitute for it. Since Scarlatti's work is mostly severe in style, only relaxing, as a rule, to break out into a passionate mysticism which is extremely rare in his sacred music, while Pergolesi's, as I need hardly remind you, is in the charming and jaunty manner of “ La Serva Padrona,” it is not

surprising that the work of the elder master is completely forgotten while that of the younger has been exalted to the skies as the ideal of devotional expression.

Of Scarlatti's closing years there is little to be said. He took Hasse as a pupil in 1725, but not for long, as he died in that year. He seems to have had a great affection for Hasse, which is not surprising considering Hasse's talents and the amiable disposition which impressed Burney so favourably many years later. Quantz the flute-player visited him, being presented by Hasse, and received by Scarlatti with considerable reluctance. "You know I cannot endure players of wind instruments," he said to Hasse, "for they all play out of tune." The account of the interview given by Quantz himself is amusing, for it shows that the flute-player was far from capable of appreciating the old composer's genius, evidently thinking him very inferior to Domenico, the brilliant virtuoso of the keyboard. Domenico was probably at Naples in person when his father died, on October 24. He was buried in the musicians' chapel dedicated to Saint Cecilia, in the church of Montesanto, in Naples; his well-known epitaph is printed in Grove's Dictionary.

The best criticism of Scarlatti's work is to be found in the third volume of the "Oxford History of Music." Sir Hubert Parry is one of the few writers on musical history—I rather suspect he is the only one—who has read a sufficiently large quantity of Scarlatti to be able to form an adequate judgment on him. Still, when he says that "there is such an element of polished and courtly elegance about all Scarlatti's work that, though the pleasure it gives is refined and even elevating, it does not appeal to genuine human emotion," I can hardly agree with him. The fact is, I think, that in music we are most of us so accustomed to Teutonic methods of stimulating emotion, that Italian music appeals to us less, simply because it is an unfamiliar language. Compared with John Sebastian Bach, Scarlatti is so simple in outline that one is naturally tempted to think there is nothing more in him than what we perceive at a first glance. Yet might we not draw the same comparison between Beethoven and Mozart? There are plenty of music-lovers to whom Mozart means nothing, simply because he is classical and not romantic; but I am sure there is nobody here to-day who could be put in that category. Indeed Mozart is of all composers the one who comes nearest to Scarlatti in feeling. Scarlatti's influence on his immediate followers was slighter than one would have expected. They took his forms and his phraseology as the basis of their own, but they imitated him mostly in his middle period, when he was more theatrical than sincere. It was natural that young composers should select as their models the operas which were most conspicuously

effective; the chamber cantatas were too learned, the later Roman operas too much in the spirit of chamber music. After Scarlatti the chamber cantata drops out of use almost entirely; and if a German composer like Heinichen could denounce his harmony as extravagant, it is no wonder that Naples set it aside. Handel, of course, came under his influence a good deal; but Handel, a German writing for an English audience, never penetrated deeper than the surface. Scarlatti's careful attention to his words, both in recitative and aria, was too intimately Italian for foreigners to imitate or appreciate.

Of the Neapolitans who followed him—whether they were actually his pupils or not is not to be definitely stated—Leo may be said to have inherited his learning, and some of his sense of humour. Logroscino certainly inherited his humour, and Vinci his swift, incisive vigour. Durante represents his tenderer side, and Pergolesi, the pupil of Durante, sentimentalizes it still further. The influence of Alessandro on Domenico is difficult to determine. Domenico's most characteristic work is his cembalo music; Alessandro's cembalo music is his least characteristic and his least interesting. But in Domenico's sonatas we can often trace rhythms and turns of phrase that are characteristic of his father, as well as the firm sense of modern tonality, the Beethovenish habit of repeating and developing a phrase or figure, the bold modulations, and the well-balanced form. It is in form above all things that Alessandro achieved his greatest work. Just as Mozart half-a-century later united in himself all those qualities which Scarlatti's pupils had derived separately from the founder of their school, so Scarlatti himself gathered up all the tangled materials of that age of transition and experiment, the seventeenth century, to weave them into a firm foundation for the more elaborate schemes of the three great masters of the symphony and sonata. Alessandro Scarlatti is the Father of Classical Music.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The first thing we have to do on this occasion is to pass a cordial vote of thanks to Mr. Dent for his excellent paper, and also to Miss Holbrook for her illustrations of it. (Applause.) There is no need to put that formally. The subject of Mr. Dent's paper is a very interesting one. In those days (the close of the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth) songs were formed on a regular plan, which was very seldom

deviated from, and the feeling of them is generally expressed by what may be called *movement*. You very seldom have a song with long notes in it, and even when there is a holding note in the vocal part the accompaniment is always moving. This produces in effect a sort of similarity among the songs of that date, as if they were all variations based upon one and the same theme; but taking that into consideration there is no doubt that Alessandro Scarlatti's writing was *vocal* and in many ways effective. As to his music having rather fallen into oblivion, we must remember that at the time at which he lived there were a great many other composers writing an enormous quantity of music, whose very names are probably known only to the antiquarian; such, for example, as Nicholas Laniere, Thomas Campion, John Coperario, and Simon Ives, who were all voluminous composers of music for masques and other dramatic entertainments, and of whose music a vast quantity may be found on the shelves of the British Museum in London, and the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Matthew Locke and Henry Lawes have fared but little better, though the latter has been immortalised (in name) by Milton. Yet all these in their day occupied in England quite as important a position as Scarlatti did in Italy. It has occurred to me to notice as a mere coincidence of date—nothing turns on it—that Scarlatti was born exactly a hundred years before Handel died. With regard to the use of the Ground Bass, that is a form that was also worked very skilfully both by Purcell and by Handel; perhaps one of the most successful instances by Handel is the chorus in "Saul," "Envy, eldest born of hell," which has been so popular in the Festivals at the Crystal Palace.

Sir C. HUBERT H. PARRY.—I really have no right to make any remarks, because owing to unavoidable circumstances I have only heard a very small portion of Mr. Dent's paper. But I have no doubt it must have been most interesting and enlightening, as I know Mr. Dent is most thoroughly conversant with his subject and can tell us more about Alessandro Scarlatti than almost anyone living. Scarlatti is indeed an abstruse subject, for his works are very difficult of access, and few of us can see them in sufficient numbers to be able to appreciate them justly. He has remained practically a sealed book till quite recent times, and it requires not only favourable opportunities, but knowledge of Italian to read and duly estimate the relation of the libretto to the music, and considerable sense of style and musical intelligence to lay hold of the essential points in Scarlatti's life and work; but I feel sure Mr. Dent has made admirable use of his opportunities, and has shown to-day as well as elsewhere that he has all the qualifications requisite

for successfully dealing with his subject. In the little I did hear of the paper there was some kindly reference to my own views about Scarlatti, and to certain points in which Mr. Dent thinks I am not fully in agreement with him. But I do not think we differ very materially. With reference to Mozart I should say that his power lay in presenting to us things of extraordinary beauty within the range of music itself. I do not feel that he attempts to present human emotion in any strong sense. It was not his line to stir us emotionally to the depths, neither was it Scarlatti's. But I do not at all derogate from the extreme importance of Scarlatti's work. I do not really think many people realize what an important position he does occupy in the story of musical evolution. When he was at work composers were just beginning to realize that organization was necessary in music. The art, especially the operatic branch, was in the process of transition from purely dramatic experiment to a perfectly organized condition, and Scarlatti was the first composer who laid hold of the principles of organization with sufficient clearness and perception; with results that the best examples of his work are remarkably satisfactory from the formal point of view. Cavalli, it is true, had tried something in this line previously, and had produced some charming arias which were almost as good in a formal sense as Scarlatti's; but he was never quite certain which line he ought to follow, and he turned sometimes towards the dramatic line which had been initiated by his master Monteverde, and sometimes anticipated the more formal scheme of later times. But Scarlatti's convictions were more settled, and he consistently devoted himself to the development of organization, and I have always held that he stands at the head of the development of the formal phase of Art and was in some ways the most important forerunner of Mozart, both in respect of style and of principles of form. I hope what I have said has not been necessarily at variance with what Mr. Dent has enunciated, and I congratulate the members of the Association present on having heard what I am confident will prove an invaluable addition to their Proceedings, and I look forward with much eagerness to the opportunity of reading the paper in print.

Mr. SOUTHGATE.—I am quite sure every one will echo what Sir Hubert has just said as to how glad we shall be to see this paper in print. It has told a great many of us more about Scarlatti than we have ever heard before, even if we have read the notices of him that have been published. The lecturer has given us some music which has been delightful to hear, and which we should never have had the opportunity of listening to otherwise. I wish Sir Hubert Parry had heard that touching Lament. It reminded me very much of

Purcell's Lament in "Dido." In one of the lecturer's last remarks he said that Pergolesi's music has been regarded as the ideal of devotional expression. I have heard and played a good deal of Pergolesi's music, but I cannot say it ever gave me that impression. I believe it is so regarded in Italy, but under the Pope's late rescript that music will probably disappear. It is much too theatrical for the Italians of the present day. I think it was said that Scarlatti invented the *Da Capo*, its first appearance being in an oratorio by him. One would like to know whether this is true—whether the *Da Capo* is first found there; my impression is that it was used by composers before his time. In Fétis's criticism of Scarlatti's music, he speaks of the practice which grew up in his later works of dividing his violins into two, three, or even four parts. That is extremely remarkable if it is true, because there he seems to have anticipated some modern composers, notably Wagner. I should be glad to hear if Mr. Dent has found any examples in Scarlatti's operas. One would also like to know whether there are any ballets or dance music in his operas, because if he received any inspiration from France, there might be some movements which would be very interesting to the student of the development of opera. Also, does Mr. Dent find much difference between his sacred and his secular music. One knows that in his time there was very little difference between the two styles, and it would be interesting to know whether a man who wrote so many masses and cantatas shows any distinction between his sacred and secular styles. Although I must not speak in the name of the Council since our President is here, I should like to say how very glad we should be if Mr. Dent could give us a paper on Domenico Scarlatti, the father of modern clavier music.

MR. DENT.—My first duty is to thank you very much for listening to my paper, and I wish very much indeed to thank Miss Holbrook for her beautiful singing, which I think has been the most important part of the lecture. I expect all the songs were new to the majority of those present, and it is much more important that you should hear the music itself than hear what I have to say about it. With regard to the *Da Capo* I do not remember which is the first work of Scarlatti's in which it appears. But whether you refer to the term, or to the ternary form which the term represents, it is certainly older than Scarlatti. With regard to the sacred and secular music, it depends on the form in which the sacred music is cast. The oratorios are in the same form as the operas. But there is also much sacred music written in the strict style, Masses with accompaniment, and Psalms in a rather curious form. With regard to division of the strings, there is one opera in which he writes three violin parts all

the way through and no viola part—"L'Amor Volubile e Tiranno" (1709). Occasionally we find the violins divided into four parts, as in "*La Caduta dei Decemviri*," but then I think you will find his object is not to make fuller chords, but to divide the orchestra into two separate groups; you will often find the same effect in Leo and in later composers. He has thus practically two orchestras—two violins and violoncello and cembalo on one side, and two violins with the lute and basses on the other. There are very few dances in Scarlatti's operas; but in the libretti we nearly always find a list of ballets. I think they were generally imported from France. The dances are nearly all comic and often interwoven with the intermezzi.

APRIL 12, 1904.

THOMAS LEA SOUTHGATE, ESQ.,
IN THE CHAIR.

PRIMITIVE AFRICAN INSTRUMENTS.

BY ALGERNON ROSE, F.R.G.S.

THE difficulties of getting about in Africa, and the distances to be covered, make it regrettable that pioneers, when they visit isolated districts and bring back mementos of the natives, confine the selection of articles they have to show on their return to trophies of the chase, weapons of war, and domestic utensils, overlooking the ingenious though primitive instruments of music which to members of this Association are of unique interest.

A protest might be made by the Council of this Institution to the Royal Geographical Society, pointing out that British travellers omit to seek for native musical instruments. I have inspected many exhibitions of trophies brought home by explorers. There have been skins of wild animals, spear-heads, idols, cooking-pots, and women's ornaments galore, but, except in very rare instances, any instruments for the production of sound have been absent.

German travellers, on the other hand, have eagerly annexed all musical instruments they have come across. The French, too, as well as the Belgians, have been keen gleaners of musical bric-à-brac from the Dark Continent. It is possible that Sir Harry Johnston, who is an artist as well as a traveller, may be in the possession of a few musical trophies as yet unknown to our museums. If so, it is a pity that he should keep the knowledge of such things to himself.

It is time that a musical map of Africa were compiled, showing the distribution of indigenous musical instruments in the same way that we have geological, mineral, zoological

and rainfall maps of that continent. If this musical chart were correctly done it would be of immense interest, and it should be possible to accomplish such a work by the combined efforts of certain members of the Musical Association co-operating with the Internationale Musik Gesellschaft. If at every port sailors of ships trading with Africa were encouraged to bring home specimens of native instruments, and travellers attached to learned societies were urged to obtain all possible information regarding tone-producing contrivances used by the various tribes, the foundation of an international museum of African instruments would be laid. M. Mahillon ought to be able to contribute valuable information of the musical instruments of the Congo; the Conservatorio at Lisbon regarding the music of Portuguese West Africa and the State of Mozambique; and the Accademia della St. Cecilia at Rome should furnish its quota à propos of Italian Somaliland. In the north, south, east and west of Africa it is Great Britain which has the best opportunities to investigate how, when, and where the native devotes himself most to the production of pleasant sounds. Nevertheless, the youngest colonisers in Africa, the Germans, appear to be the leaders of appreciation of the music indigenous to the people, and although British explorers have outnumbered the Teutons twenty to one, I believe there are more African instruments to be found in the museums of Germany than in any other country.

Although my own opportunities for collecting such instruments were few and far between, I am myself surprised to be able to say that, under adverse circumstances, I contrived to gather together a better store of the kind than is to be found in the otherwise excellent museum at Cape Town in which the late Cecil Rhodes took much interest.

There are multitudinous objects of interest in the Black Continent; and the fact that nose-rings, hair-combs, bead-work made of Brummagem beads, and knob-kerries covered with brass wire from Germany have been collected in preference to musical instruments is considered justifiable by the unmusical, it rests with the musical community to ensure that all things relating to their profession—however primitive—shall receive as much regard as is given to objects which have to do with the profession of Arms, or the sciences of Metallurgy, Botany, and Zoology by the organizations interested in those branches of study.

Because British travellers have not brought back African musical instruments an impression has got abroad that the Kafir is unmusical. This is fallacious. The black man has not made a science of music as have the "heathen Chinese" or the Indians, from whom Western musicians will presently learn more than they anticipate.

In a crude way the Kafir is a born Apollo. Judging from what I have seen, the impression I have formed is that every part of the mysterious Dark Continent is teeming with the music of Nature's children.

Possession of the instruments themselves, interesting though they may be to look at, is insufficient. What the curious desire to know are the uses to which the instruments are put, the tribes to which they belong, what tunes have been played on them, the meanings of those tunes, and how they have entered into the real lives of the owners. Only the traveller who is acquainted with the language of the people, or who is accompanied by competent interpreters, can gain such information. The casual visitor, who passes through a country in a hurry and whose bread-winning occupation must be his first consideration, can ascertain comparatively little, especially when the white resident, who ought to be interested in such matters, boasts that he himself is unmusical and regards the natives' efforts to make tunes with contempt. The black man, being far more observant than the white man, does not of course volunteer information where it is not wanted. Every white man that the Kafir sees he mentally examines for some peculiarity, either in his gestures, appearance, or the work he does, and he very quickly recognises something odd by which he remembers the stranger. Whereas in civilised communities the tendency is for everyone to dress, talk, walk, and look alike, so that the difference in name is the chief mark of distinction, in Kaffraria a criminal might assume a hundred aliases without losing his identity, for the native gives every white man and woman a nick-name which is passed on and perpetuated. Such sobriquets are not intended discourteously, but are mere common-sense means of identification.

It is not easy to group the instruments, of which I have to treat, geographically, because Kafirs employed by Europeans come from all parts and bring their instruments with them. Thus one might come across a native instrument in Vryburg and describe it as belonging to South Bechuanaland, whereas its real home would possibly be Lake Tanganyika. It is therefore more convenient to group African instruments into four families, *vis.*, strings, wind, percussion, and clickers.

The stringed instruments I have collected are the Schumgha, Zézé, Pungwee, Valia, Devil's Harp, Rebab, and Rebec.

Of the Schumgha there are many varieties, and the name changes according to the tribe. The instrument is an ordinary bow-shaft about a yard long, the single bow-string being tied back at the middle. The instrument, held horizontally, is supported on the right in the hollow of the

player's right thumb, while it is gripped on the left by his strong white teeth. While held in this position, the disengaged right fingers twang the string, and the left hand stops the notes. By breathing on the back of the bow the player increases and imparts a tremolo quality to the tone, it being twice as audible to the player as to the listener, as in the case of our Jew's Harp. I have five varieties of Schumgha. The instrument with the square of tin and two dozen cowrie-shells belongs to Mozambique. The cowrie-shells are intended to make a jarring. The shaft, otherwise, of this instrument is quite plain. Swaziland is alive with such instruments as these, where they are known as "Lestendall." The Schumgha I chanced upon at Barberton is an improvement on that with the cowrie-shells. Two-thirds of the shaft are enclosed by a tube of brushwood, from which the pith has been extracted. This tube acts as a resonator, and the player places his mouth against the left end of it. Tied in the middle with a slip-knot, the string can be tightened or loosened at will to vary the pitch. Here is a Schumgha refrain :—



Others in the group, which came from Amatonga and Komati Poort respectively, are provided with these tubes. They have been quaintly carved with tribal designs. The fourth instrument—the largest of the group—instead of being partially enclosed in a tube, is made from one solid branch, the centre portion being left some four inches in depth. The player grips the back of this block with his teeth and twangs in a buzzing manner a four-bar phrase, which he will repeat for hours. This is one of them :—



In regarding the Schumgha, we are perhaps contemplating the very earliest attempt to produce a sound from a stretched string. Delightful as was the effect of the vibration of the instrument on the player when he gripped it with his teeth, it was not possible for him to sing at the same time. This,

no doubt, was a deprivation, because no Kafir can work or play if he does not sing a phrase like the following :—



But unless the Schumgha was held by the teeth the instrument was almost inaudible. The black artist therefore who first attached a bread-fruit shell to the bow as a resonator was no doubt regarded as a great inventor. Such an instrument I came across at Mombasa. It was being played on by a native belonging to the "Wakamba," an agricultural wandering tribe who amuse themselves of an evening around their camp fires singing, clapping their hands, and vibrating similar instruments. To cause the necessary jarring, there are some squares of metal strung loosely to a piece of stout wire at one end of the bow-shaft; at the other end is the bread-fruit shell. Dr. Cummings has an instrument called Gourah, from the Orange River Colony, probably of this kind. At Noordkop, I saw a native with one, who placed the half-gourd over his left breast. The string also, instead of being twanged, was struck rapidly with a twig, suggesting the earliest combination of percussion with a stretched string. In other words, it is possible that you have here the bedrock progenitor of the present-day concert pianoforte.

Primitive man, having got so far, was seemingly undecided whether to augment the number of notes obtainable from one string reinforced by a big resonator, or the number of strings which should each emit its own particular note.

In the Zézé, which comes from Lake Panalomba in the Blantyre district to the south of Nyasa, we have a variation of the Schumgha, in that there is usually a single string, a bow-shaft and a resonator. But the shaft has three crude stopping-places for different sounds; and the gourd, which comes from a plant called Chepeendé, is much larger than the little bread-fruit shell. At the end of the shaft, opposite to the stopping places, the string passes over a bridge of quill to impart a jarring. An instrument such as this has a prominent place when the Blantyre tribe are *en fête*—i.e., when they buy a wife, or drink indoors—the Kafir beer. The Zézé is then used to accompany a refrain such as the following :—



The company dances while the song is sung, the dance consisting mainly of weird movements of the body.

The three stopping-places on the Zézé for altering the pitch of the string certainly suggest the finger-board of the violin. In remote times the Kafir evidently had a glimmering idea of ways of improving the instrument, and possibly the originator of the Zézé, had he been left alone, would have evolved something remarkable. It was the convenient custom in those parts of going out and killing a neighbour before breakfast which no doubt led to the premature end of that embryo black Stradivarius.

From the rude Zézé let us turn to the equally rude Pungwee, of Bandanga, in North-East Rhodesia. The name of the instrument comes from the river in Portuguese East Africa, and the shape denotes its having been suggested by a Kafir canoe, for the instrument has been hollowed out of one piece of wood, somewhat in the shape of a boat with a very long prow, the prow furnishing a handle similar to that by which the ancient, square-shaped psaltery was held. The Pungwee has five strings, suggesting the pentatonic scale. The specimen I have is dilapidated. I endeavoured to get a better example, but could not induce a native who owned one to part with his. Mr. Epstein, a German Jew trader I came across in Rhodesia, said the Pungwee was used by witch doctors during their bone-throwing. The medicine man, having squatted down, places the Pungwee on a calabash to increase the tone. He then chants monotonously and mysteriously to himself. Having gained the attention of, and overawed, his audience, he begins throwing the bones and chanting the destiny of the trembling wretch before him.

The man whose instrument I coveted, and who came from Bandanga, played a cock-crowing tune on the Pungwee, something like this:—



Although the origin of the Pungwee and Schumgha must be exceedingly remote, the next instrument which I have to explain possibly dates back to an earlier period, because, in the instruments of the Kafirs, the strings are all attached separately. To preserve a national peculiarity there is no means so efficacious as a channel of water, and we have to thank that arm of the Indian Ocean known as the Mozambique Channel, which is 300 miles in breadth at its narrowest part, for the conservation of that exceedingly interesting race known as the Malagash or Malagasy,

who, in their cleanliness, picturesqueness, and ability, remind a traveller not a little of the Japanese. The national musical instrument of the Malagasy is the Vali, or Valia. This is simply of thick bamboo, a length of that giant cane with a hollow jointed stem which grows sometimes to a height of 150 feet. A portion of the biscuit-coloured reed is cut off by the native musician and converted into a musical instrument of pleasant sound. In China the bamboo is used for nearly everything—for the carrying of heavy weights, building of houses, making of boats, and its fibre is converted into paper, mats, clothing, and a hundred other things. But the ingenious Chinaman has not gone so far as the native of Madagascar, in making the bamboo actually sing. This the Malagash does by slitting the surface, and then prising up the elastic fibre and forcing under it at either end a piece of cork bark. Strain being thus put on the string, it gives forth a guitar-like tone when twanged, the sound being augmented by the length and hollowness of the bamboo.

Of these Vali I came across two distinct varieties. The first, belonging to Majunga, was 5 feet long, and contained, beyond the two joints locating the strings, a length of tube at either end as a reinforcer to the sound. This instrument was not easy to obtain; at least twenty huts were visited before it was discovered. It is my impression that the real owner was not at home, and that his instrument was sold by a neighbour, because the seller was unable to play on it. It was therefore a consolation to feel that it would not take long for the native musician who lost his instrument to make another. He had no need to buy strings for it, the strings being obtainable from their natural sounding-board. A new Vali has thus more sounding-board than an old one, and the age of such an instrument can be estimated by the way in which it has been hacked. Unlike a child which grows, a Vali diminishes in girth from birth. The strings, being of the fibre of the cane, are very brittle, in consequence of which more than half the strings of my big Vali were broken in its recent pilgrimage to Glasgow although a special tin case had been made for it.

The second variety of Vali, of which I procured two specimens at Nossi Bé, has the tube cut off close to the knots, so that it is only one-third the length of the Majunga instrument. Amongst our musical instruments there is nothing to be compared with the Vali. It is as distinct in shape from its European confrères as is the *ornithorhynchus* amongst birds or animals. The Vali is stringed without being strung, and tubular without being blown. Its strings, from thirteen to eighteen in number, are each of equal length, the difference in pitch being caused by the graduated size of

the pieces of bark with which they are wedged up. As the strings stretch themselves longitudinally all round the tube, a Vali is awkward to handle without damaging its farther side. To me this instrument was a novelty, but Dr. Weekes, of Plymouth, is the happy possessor of a Vali of a greater length than 5 feet. It is easy to imagine an orchestra composed of such instruments, because the bamboo grows conveniently in many different sizes. The bigger and longer the tube, the more liable are the strings to snap.

From the Vali I turn to another African stringed instrument almost as old as the hills. I refer to the ancient Greek Lyre, varieties of which are to be met with in British Central Africa, where it is known as the Kinanda-kinubi, or Devil's Harp. The legendary lyre of Greece had tortoise-shell for its back, and the dried sinews within emitted pleasant sounds when struck. Naumann gives an illustration of a similar instrument of Hebraic origin, without sound-holes, which he calls the Hasur, and no fewer than nine of these Hasurs were included in the instrumental combinations in the Temple service. Undoubtedly the presence of five-string lyres of this kind amongst the native tribes in Central and East Africa was first due to the Phœnicians, who overran and became masters of South Africa from the 19th to the 13th centuries B.C. I may remind you that among the chief cities of the Phœnicians were Tyre and Sidon, and amongst their Mediterranean colonies was Carthage. That wonderful people, it has been recently shown, excavated no less than 800,000 tons of gold from the surface-workings of the territory now known as Rhodesia. From the bend of the Limpopo to the south of Lake Tanganyika gold was drawn by these people to the value of £900,000,000 sterling, giving rise to the belief that this was the "Ophir" of King Solomon, since the word Ophir lies hidden in our word Africa, formed by the three Hebrew consonants representing A, F, and R, with the Latin diminutive, *ica*, added.

The Phœnicians doubtless brought with them different musical instruments which have since remained with the native tribes and have not been improved upon. The Kinanda I came across, instead of a tortoiseshell body had merely a common tin basin covered with camel skin. It belonged to a warlike tribe called the "Masai," inhabiting that district, high above sea-level, which reminded Sir Harry Johnston of parts of Scotland with its swelling green downs, beautiful woodland crests, and roaring burns tearing over great boulders through forest country. In the ferny hollows were buttercups, daisies, numberless violets, and, in marshy spots, lobelias 15 feet high. Readers of books on Equatorial Africa are apt to get a wrong impression of the country.

It does not always follow that the climate is hotter and less healthy the nearer one gets to the Equator. In the Uganda country one is actually on the line, yet between the Indian Ocean and the Victoria Nyanza there is a tableland so high above sea-level that the climate is in every way suited for the white man. From Mombasa to Victoria Nyanza the railway now extends upwards of 500 miles, and has been completed at the cost of much money and life, rendering a country, formerly infested by warlike savages and wild beasts, a most desirable place to live in. The recent suggestion to give over this beautiful land—the actual site, it is believed, of the Garden of Eden—to the riff-raff Jew population of the East-end of London has met with so much opposition that, Sir Harry Johnston informed me recently, the project is now fortunately in abeyance.

The large Kinanda is not often seen. There is a fine example of it in the Imperial Museum at Berlin. It is considered by the Zanzibaris to be possessed of paramount magical power, and it is only brought out at high festivals, when it is borne round the town in procession, and the Ngoma is danced to its tones. No European was formerly allowed to approach the instrument without taking off his boots.

Another Kinanda I saw at Zanzibar, and which is more generally used at Uganda, was shaped like the pictures of the early Egyptian harps of the time of Rameses III., or 1284 B.C., having a body similar to half a melon cut longways, with the flat side uppermost. From this surface extended a neck of bamboo at an angle of 45 degrees, and eight strings attached to the sounding-board were turned by eight big tuning pegs screwed into the neck.

The remaining instruments of the string family to which I have to refer are the Rebab and the Rebec. It may be said that these instruments are of Arabian origin, and therefore Asiatic. Considering, however, that even the Kafir derives his name from the Arabic—it being a term of reproach for an unbeliever in Mohammed—it would be as logical to class the Kafirs themselves as Asiatics as some of the primitive Rebabs which have been sounded for centuries in the Black Continent. Both Rebab and Rebec are played with the bow, and the Rebab is rested on the ground and bowed like a 'cello, its truly bow-shaped bow being like that of a double-bass rather than a violin. Because the word fiddle is supposed to be derived from the Latin *fides*, a string, and its diminutive *fidicula*, its pedigree is traced back through the Rebec to the Lyre. Mr. E. J. Payne, in "Grove," says that no specimen of the Rebec is known to exist. At Zanzibar there are hundreds of them. The Rebec is sometimes beautifully

fretted with sound-holes. It has four double strings tuned in pairs in fifths, and in outline is not altogether dissimilar to the mandoline.

The Rebab—which I managed to obtain in Aden—belonged to a Seedé boy from Abyssiniâ. The body is diamond-shaped, and covered with goat-skin pierced in four places (north, south, east and west), the bridge (bearing the single string of the instrument) being apparently the merry-thought or wish-bone of the wild goose. To appreciate the Rebab and the Rebec one requires to be in the proper atmosphere. There should be hot sand underfoot, a cloudless blue sky overhead, a grunting camel not far off, and the fragrance of Mocha coffee mingled with the perfume of the hookah to soothe one's nerves. Those accustomed to the negro of the south may not consider such surroundings typically African, but Africa is so vast a continent that the manners and customs of the Tunisians in the north are as truly African as those of the black Kafir of the south. To these African stringed instruments I would add the "Afridi fiddle" shown to this Association by Mr. Blaikley, and already described in our Proceedings.

The Wind Family of my African collection includes six instruments.

First, there is a whistle from Blantyre, in Central Africa, which is open at both ends and blown as you would blow a key. It is ornamented with silver wire, is used to call the cattle at milking time, and, when not in use, is worn as an ornament in the lobe of the ear.

I have come across no wind instruments of metal of African make; but as the Phœnicians doubtless took with them specimens of the trumpets used by the ancient Hebrews, such trumpets are very likely still to be found. The nearest approach to a trumpet which I could find was the horn of a Sami, an antelope about the size of a donkey. Such horns are used to conduct the great caravans coming south from Abyssinia. It will be observed that the hole for blowing into is not at the tip, but is cut into the side at one-third length from the tip. The man who used this horn had marched a distance of 850 miles, from Morandab in Abyssinia to Mombasa, the signal for the march being two long-drawn-out high notes. His tribe was indeed primitive, the fashion with his people being to fight with the bow and arrow and sword, and eat their meat raw while the flesh was still quivering.

Compared with the transcendental style of flute-playing rendered possible by the fingering of Boehm, the melancholy tootling of the Kafirs in South Africa is primeval. What strikes the visitor in Africa as strange is the lack of desire of the otherwise intelligent Kafir to improve upon the

implements which his ancestors have used for thousands of years. Whereas the European spends his life in a fever of emulation, striving, speculation and worry, the Kafir lives, without books and newspapers, as did his parents before him and their parents before them, and, in his way, he is happy. Can it be, after all, that the untutored savage is the truer philosopher?

In Portuguese territory, in Beira, a bad place for fever, I was awakened one Sunday morning by the solemn notes of a Kafir transverse flute from the Mandali kraal beyond the Busi river. I had some difficulty in tracking the player on account of the peculiar way in which the sound was reflected from different buildings. When I found him, he was playing on a length of bamboo, cut off above the joint, so that the "cork" was natural. Below this joint was the hole for his leathery lips and, at the farther end of the tube, three holes only, showing a very limited compass. At the back of the tube was scratched a primitive dog-tooth ornament. The Kafir when playing held the flute from right to left, instead of from left to right—perhaps he was left-handed. While he played he hummed, to make the buzzing sound beloved of all Africans in their music.

I would next draw your attention to the Egyptian double-flute, or flageolet, the name of which I understood from a Fellah to be the "Malooch." Mrs. Crosby Brown, of New York, calls it a Mijwiz. In Cairo, and farther south, it is sometimes used by the Dervis, an itinerant class of Mohammedan mendicant friars, who beg from door to door. These mystics are well known by their dances, which are stimulated by the sounds of such instruments as the Malooch, Nay, and Tambourine. The reed of the Malooch is peculiar, and has to be taken quite within the lips before a sound is elicited. The instrument I have has four vents in each tube. Others have six. An extra length is added to the left tube as a drone.

A native double-reed instrument, with considerable power of penetration, is the Soomari. This I came across in Zanzibar. It resembles the Nagasara of India, with its bassoon-like reed. The tone is raucous, and it seems an insult to hint that this instrument of torture is the parent of our pastoral hautboy.

The Percussion family of the African orchestra consists of the Marcello or Harmonicon, the Rattles and Drums.

In Durban the Harmonicon was called by the natives "Goupé" or "Goo-poo." The Marcello consists of a series of bars of hard wood strung together by means of twisted gut in pairs, but not touching. The number of the notes varies. Some have eight, some ten, and some twelve bars. The tuning—which, remarkably, is not pentatonic—

follows the equal heptatonic division, which allows of the mean thirds appreciated by the Orientals. It is not unlike our own diatonic scale from C to F, a semitone lower. The specimen I have came from Gazaland, and was made at the port of Inhambane, where the natives are particularly musical. At the back is a stout rod or beam of bushwood, holes through which lead to the gourds. These are fruit shells which grow on a species of vine to which monkeys are partial. The smaller the gourds the harder they become. The gourds are not naturally bottle-shaped, but necks have been added to protect the bat's wings with which the mouths of the gourds are covered in order to produce a jarring noise. The framework is of bushwood bent while green. It retains its curved shape after it becomes dry. The sticks for playing with have their ends covered by a thick ball of wild rubber. These instruments are sometimes used in pairs, when one native will play against another. Certain Kafirs exhibit even more dexterity in execution than do the best Hungarian cembalo players. It is rhythm rather than melody which apparently is cultivated, and the playing of a couple of good Kafirs is well worth listening to. A weird phrase commences the piece, and the theme is succeeded by remarkable variations, not glissando, but actual runs being made from time to time with incredible rapidity from one end of the compass to the other. No matter how exciting the performance, the players and listeners give no signs of emotion, but preserve the most stolid looks.

Oblong boxes made of maize, or filled with peas or stones, take the place of Castanets in Central South Africa. These rattles are called "Kaijamba." In British East and Central Africa the women wear seed pods round their legs and arms, which they shake during the dance.

It is easy to dismiss as unimportant the rude drums of the Kafir. Yet, if the white critic had to live in a Kafir kraal, and the drum woke him of a morning, summoned him to his meals, to work, hunt, fight, and "smellings out," as it does the native, the white man would get the pitch of that instrument and the distinct taps associated with it so registered in his mind that his daily actions would be as much regulated by its tone as is the life of the negro. So much does the mysterious sound of the drum enter into the life of the Kafir, that the instrument belongs to the tribe rather than to the individual, and is consequently not easy to obtain. In some tribes, simple specimens are made of hollow blocks of wood. The most gruesome African drum is the sacrificial instrument found in Ashanti, covered with human skin and ornamented with human skulls.

One drum I have is from Inhambane, and the other is from Uganda. The top of the former is of reed buck hide,

and the strings are of game buck, the latter drum being covered with cowskin. This hide is drawn very tightly. The older the drum gets in a hot climate, the tauter do the strings become. The method of tuning is by placing the instrument over a fire to contract the skin, or in water to expand it. Both drums contain a rattle, and are provided with a sling or thong to go over the shoulder.

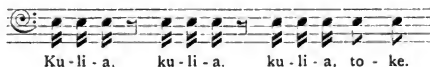
At Salisbury, in Rhodesia, I was shown a couple of drums by Sir Thomas Scanlan, legal adviser to the British South African Company and former Premier of Cape Colony. The larger instrument measured 16 inches across the head, and the body was cup-shaped. The body of the smaller instrument had a foot like an egg-cup, the diameter of its head being 10 inches. E, third space bass clef, was the note sounded. The head of the larger instrument was of light-brown water-buck, the sides being of plaited hide; the smaller drum—which came from Tanganyika—being of dark-brown carved wood, the head coated with beeswax to deaden the sound.

To illustrate how the tom-tomming of a tribal drum follows the black man from his cradle to his grave, so that, whether on the war-path or playing with his piccaninnis, he can never throw off its influence, examples may be given of a few out of many distinctive drum-beats. Even as the drum signals vary in every European army, so the drumming of the different African tribes is by no means uniform. An interesting volume might be written on Kafir drum-calls if missionaries and others would collate such information.

First, there is the drumming which goes on all night to scare away wild animals. Next, there is the daybreak summons, known as the *réveille* in all armies.

The Food Beat consists of three triplets immediately followed by two notes somewhat slower, thus:—

FOOD BEAT.

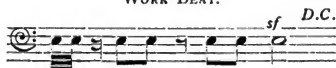


“Kulia” means “to eat,” and “Toke” is food.

There is a separate Drinking Beat, for the Kafir instinctively knows that it is unnatural to impair one's digestion by drowning one's food immediately it is swallowed. After the morning meal, the chief of the tribe sees that the Work Beat is sounded. This consists of a rat-tat fast, a rat-tat slow, a pause, a slow rat-tat, and a bang, repeated, the chief singing

"Saga, laga, la-me-do," meaning "I do not love a man who's lying down."

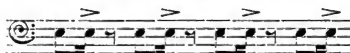
WORK BEAT.



In due course the drum-beat for Leaving off Work follows.

The chief now perhaps determines to pay a visit to the head of a neighbouring tribe. His people must get together weapons, food and presents for the rival chief. For this purpose the "Safari" is sounded—

MARCH BEAT.



This beat represents the peculiar swinging gait of the Kafir, and becomes louder or softer as if the procession were approaching or departing. The beat is merely the repetition of a double stroke, the second sound being accentuated. As soon as the company is ready the journey is begun, and the drums alternately stimulate the marchers.

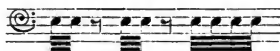
Maybe the scouts in front have discovered a leopard in the jungle. If the chief decides to hunt, the column is halted and the Leopard Beat is sounded. This begins fortissimo and slowly, getting quicker and decrescendo until it dies away pianissimo, thus:—

LEOPARD HUNT.

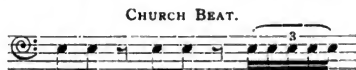


Possibly, on approaching the neighbouring tribe, the friendly overtures are not well received. The chiefs or their messengers quarrel. It is resolved to fight. Thereupon the drum gives forth the dreadful War Beat, which consists of two rat-tats and four quick notes repeated thus:—

WAR BEAT.



Taking advantage of this instrument as a means of calling the black people together, missionaries have added a Church Beat to the various other drum-calls:—



In Zanzibar the big kettledrum is called the Ngoma, after the dance of that name which has a mesmeric influence upon the natives. No matter how tired a Kafir may be after a long day's march, he becomes fresh at the prospect of a Ngoma, which continues from sundown to sunrise. Scarce an evening passes without this dance occurring somewhere on the island of Zanzibar. Dancing, of course, does not mean movements such as waltzing, but rather swaying the body from the hips and stamping on the ground with the right foot, men, women, and children chanting in unison for hours together. The monotonous rhythm and hollow sound of the drum have a peculiar effect on the listener, and the fantastic figure of the witch doctor, dressed up in an ape's skin and disguised so as to terrorise the assembly, is a weird spectacle, heightened by the dancers having attached to their wrists and ankles jingling contrivances to increase the general hubbub, whilst they wave in their hands horse tails decorated with tinsel. The drum has no doubt much to do with the predilection of the Kafir for reiterated notes in his music, and considering that all armies have had drums to march by from time immemorial, I cannot understand the recent assertion that repeated notes in the "Men of Harlech" *prove* that it is a tune of "much later date" than 1468—that claimed for it.

I have left to the last allusion to the "Sensza," perhaps the most interesting and exceptional of existing musical instruments. When we compare it with other sound-producing contrivances, it is curious and odd. The non-musical Englishman dismisses it with the name of "Kafir Piano," as though the Kafir had tried to imitate a modern keyboard instrument which has not been in general use for a century. In Europe there is no sound-producing instrument to resemble the Sensza of the native African. The nearest approach we have is the tongue of metal in the Jew's Harp which is twanged by the finger of the player. That is perhaps why the Jew's Harp is so popular among the Kafirs. Pedlars hawk specimens from kraal to kraal and make a huge profit on them.

When learned authorities dispute over the question of the Pianoforte originating in 1709 or 1717 A.D., it is well to reflect that the Sensza, which the European contemptuously

terms the "Kafir Piano," dates back probably to 1700 B.C., to the time soon after Joseph was sold into Egypt. The reason why it may be concluded that the Sensza was first made thousands of years ago is because of its tongues of tempered metal. Undoubtedly the knowledge of smelting was taught to the Kafir when his country was overrun by the Phœnicians. The name Sensza refers to the wood, or resonating box, to which these metal tongues are clamped down by means of a down-pressure bar tightly secured, and an up-pressure bar an inch or more to the front which makes the tongues project forward and gives them room to vibrate when clicked. The tongues themselves are called "Imbeere." The instruments range in size from the Piccanin, or midget Sensza, with six tongues, to the large instrument belonging to the Makooli, which has sometimes over two dozen clickers. What is so interesting about these Sensze is that no two instruments which belong to different tribes are alike, either as regards the arrangement or the number of the Imbeere. Some have the long clickers on the left, some on the right, some in the middle, and others at both ends. In certain instruments the clickers are arranged in two tiers, the upper tier providing approximate semitones to the whole-tones below. In place of the Sensza, or resonating box, the natives in some tribes substitute a gourd, called "Igooja." A favourite plan is to augment the tone by placing the instrument within the husk of a large water-melon. In the towns the native is fond of putting his instrument against the corrugated-iron hoardings, which greatly magnifies its tone.

At the front part of the instrument is a piece of tin, covered with loose cowrie-shells or bits of iron. These give that jarring or buzzing sound which is indispensable for musical enjoyment in the mind of the Ethiop. In those instruments which have no resonating box there is a hole in the centre of the plate to which the clickers are attached, and a film of biltong makes the beloved hissing or jangling. I collected in various districts six different kinds of Sensze with metal clickers. The young native if he cannot make the steel tongues substitutes strips of bamboo for the same purpose. Possibly the instrument with the bamboo clickers is of greater antiquity than that with metal tongues. The bamboo Sensza is rougher and bigger than the instrument furnished with metal tongues and cowries. Its tone is deeper, and it is used as a drone to the smaller instruments.

An Umtasi tribesman called the Sensza "Matenhato," and the Piccanin instrument "Malimba," obviously Myrimba, a generic term for music.

Seeing that each instrument differs in construction according to its tribe, it will be evident that each tribe has its

special tunes, and one can understand why a Kafir boy is unable to play an instrument which does not come from his own district. The Umtasi tune is a pretty one, the melody being picked out with emphasis whilst the other clickers are employed to contribute a number of fairy-like arpeggios.

The Sensza is held in both hands, with the clickers towards the player, and is manipulated by the thumbs striking downwards and the third finger of the right hand clicking upwards. The steel clickers of some instruments are quite worn away by the use they have had, because the Kafir will practise day by day for hours together, familiarising himself with the tune of his district. Some such airs are very rapid and complicated. Water seems to have suggested them. The simplest I heard, called "Watching by the Stream," was as follows :—

WATCHING BY THE STREAM.



In concluding these remarks on primitive African instruments, a passing reference to the ethnology and philology of the black man may be forgiven.

The handy term Kafir is applied to all black men in South Africa—except, of course, the Hindoos. The word itself is Arabic, and means an "unbeliever" who refused to accept the faith of Mohammed. Of the native races in South Africa there are four main divisions, known as Bushmen, Hottentots, Bantus, and the Mixed Races, the latter being a hybrid community. The strong Bantu race in Africa (like the Huns in Europe some centuries ago) swooped down from the north and overwhelmed the Hottentots and the little Bushmen. The language of the Kafir has a particular charm of its own. Simultaneously with certain words pronounced, clicks are articulated. Of these clicks there are three kinds, the "dental," made by the tongue against the teeth; the "palate click," made on the roof of the mouth; and the "cluck," produced at the back of the throat. They are almost impossible to acquire by Europeans after youth, but white children learn to pronounce them as fluently as the Kafirs. The clicking sound of the Sensza therefore particularly appeals to the ears of the Mashonas. It reminds them of the peculiarity in their own speech, derived originally from the little Bushmen, whose language has been described as nothing but "a collection of clicks modified by grunts," copied no doubt from parrot and other bird sounds. The physically superior Bantu took a fancy to the "clicks" of the little Bushmen, and grafted them on to his own language.

Although the music made by the primitive instruments of Africa is crude, it is both vigorous and plaintive, and reflects the temperament of the people; there is undoubtedly something to be learnt from the musical idiosyncrasies of the black man. It has been thought of late that the tendency of the white musician is too much towards uniformity, what with equal temperament and unintentional plagiarisms in style. Be that as it may, these Kafir clickers reveal a method of tone production unappreciated and undeveloped in Europe; and the primitive and venerable instruments to which I have ventured to draw your attention deserve a better fate than to be supplanted, as they are now rapidly being, by the squalling accordion or wheezy mouth-organ.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen, our first duty is to pass a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Algernon Rose for the very interesting and instructive paper he has given us. It tells us something new, and shows us the music—for it really is music—of a people very far removed from our idea of civilization. There are many races whose music we look upon possibly with a great deal of contempt; mainly, it seems, because we cannot understand it. Possibly it is very difficult for us to appreciate, yet I am sure it appeals to them no less than our music appeals to us. I may call your attention to the very elaborate music of the Hindoos, who divide the octave into far more intervals than we do. Though we are incapable of appreciating it, I am sure it speaks to them. The same may be said of the music of what is called the Dark Continent. It would be very interesting if we could have a musical chart of Africa, but I am afraid that is only a dream. It is only now and then that we get enthusiasts like Mr. Algernon Rose, who, though he was engaged in another kind of business, still kept an eye on his beloved art and collected specimens of great ethnological value. I am afraid the ordinary traveller who goes to hunt big game or to sell something cares very little for musical instruments, and we have not much chance of hearing of them from him. But I would call attention to a very splendid book which has recently been written on the musical instruments of Africa, which I had an opportunity of seeing last week when I was looking at the collection of the Rev. F. W. Galpin. He showed me a book that had been brought out in Berlin dealing with the music of

Africa, and especially of the Congo. Fortunately the book is in French, which most of us can manage, while books written in the high-flown German style are somewhat more difficult to comprehend. The price, I think, is about 12s. Our lecturer's appeal to explorers will, I am sure, be attended to, if one of the explorers is a musician; but it is difficult to find a man who is able to recognise a typical instrument if he were to meet with one. You observe that the progress of music has followed practically the same course that we have seen in civilized Europe. We have strings, wind, and percussion instruments—the last doubtless the oldest of all. How extraordinary it is that among these primitive peoples rhythm comes first! It seems to appeal to them more than either bowed or wind instruments—it is something they can feel and understand because it is so very simple. I think those little rhythmic tunes Mr. Rose gave us on the piano were very interesting. Of course you know how large a place rhythm occupies in the army, and how much can be done with the drums. If I remember rightly, there are two or three concertos for the drums. I have heard one or two, and I must say they are very interesting. I think it would not be unsuited to the Musical Association if some day we were to have a paper on Rhythm; if we had only a drum you could make something of it. I was very glad to hear some of the African signals, though of course they could be only a few out of the number that are used. It was interesting with regard to the Pungwe, which is gripped by the teeth and twanged, to observe the very important development of musical instruments. In the bow of the hunter the mere twanging of the string gave a sound, but that was not loud enough. Then came a resonator; it was soon found that that principle could be made use of to strengthen the tone. They found that by attaching a body of some kind to the framework they could increase the tone, and so in course of time the resonator became a necessary part of the instrument. Mr. Algernon Rose has added a conjecture that possibly this instrument was the ancestor of the piano. I do not think that is possible. It would take too long to discuss the matter fully, but it seems to me you must go to the dulcimer of the old Assyrians; there you have a sounding-board and strings struck with hammers, four or five thousand years ago. If you go into the New Assyrian Gallery of the British Museum, downstairs, where there is that marvellous picture of the lion hunt, you will see in the same room the tablets representing a conqueror going to war with the men in front carrying dulcimers and striking them with sticks. That, I think, is the ancestor of the piano. The next step we see in the Vali, which has places for stopping the strings; and so they advanced and gradually built up what became

our fiddle. I have seen several of these Vali in which a strip of bamboo has been cut, and a strip of bark raised and twanged. I think they are used not only in Africa but elsewhere. One might just call attention to the curious fact that in almost all countries we find the existing materials utilised for musical instruments. Bamboo is used in India and also in Siam together with ivory and other materials. It is common in Africa to use drums covered with the skins of lions or leopards or other wild beasts, or of snakes. The instruments the lecturer dignified with the name "Devil's Harps" gave me rather a shock, because I recognised there the Kissar, a harp which was used in Upper Egypt thousands of years ago. It was employed by the Hebrews; you see it on Hebrew coins; and if one goes into Nubia and Upper Egypt you will see it is still used. I have heard it called "David's Harp"; what the connection is I cannot say. Then the Rebec is surely a very advanced instrument indeed. Not only is it very well finished, but it has one characteristic of a highly-developed musical instrument—a very handsome sound-hole, such as you find in late lutes and harpsichords. The photograph which was shown of the Caravan Horn is interesting because the hole for blowing is so very far up the tube, and I should imagine it is very hard to sound. Mr. Algernon Rose told us that it had only two notes, which were played for a journey of 800 miles. I think we should congratulate ourselves we were not in that caravan. As to whether the music which is heard in Africa, slight as it is, is good enough for the people, I will not speculate. I think it is; but, as was pointed out, the savage is a true philosopher who is satisfied with what he gets, and is happier than we who hear a great deal of music and are not satisfied with what we get. The Nay is clearly Egyptian. I have specimens thousands of years old; the type is used in Egypt now. The reed is practically a clarinet reed; the drone is that of a bagpipe. If they do not get the drone note they want they put on another reed, or length, till they do so. That was a curious reference Mr. Rose made to the "March of the men of Harlech." Judging from the music itself, I should say it is of much later date than 1468. I do not know why he should assign that particular date. With regard to the Sensza, he says there is no European instrument like it. It is commonly called the Kafir piano—that is, of course, a very ridiculous name. Mr. Algernon Rose thinks it was made thousands of years ago. I must respectfully say I am very doubtful about that. If it was common so long ago we should have found some representation of it among the Egyptian tombs. I know of no example at all, nor do I think metal was so cheap in those days that they would use it on musical instruments. But there is one example of this instrument

that is known in Europe as the Nail-fiddle. It is found in Germany, and I have seen it in Norway. It consists of a quantity of pieces of metal driven into a board and either plucked or played with a resined bow. In the latter case it gives a very beautiful sound, but if it is plucked the sound dies away very quickly. I did not expect for one instant that Mr. Algernon Rose had yet mastered the playing of all these instruments; but I am by no means sure whether it would not be a very interesting thing if we could get at these tunes and note them down before they are gone for ever. It will not be long before this occurs. Such has happened in Japan, and is going on in India now. So if someone would put them down for the benefit of posterity more than for ourselves it would serve to show the beginnings of music, which I am sure is a matter of great interest to every student of the art.

(The vote of thanks was passed unanimously.)

MR. BLAIKLEY.—I should like to ask with respect to the flute with three holes and one mouth-hole—did you notice whether they play the fundamental notes or commence with the octave-note? In the latter case you would get a complete scale between the octave and the twelfth.

MR. ALGERNON ROSE.—The Kafir who was blowing this instrument could not speak English, and I knew but a few words of his language. But he was simply playing with two fingers and not stopping the bottom hole at all; he was making a buzzing sound at the same time and very much enjoying it. The notes produced were low notes. I thank Mr. Southgate for the remarks he has so kindly made, and am very much interested to hear of the book on African instruments which Mr. Galpin has. It only confirms what I said; a book, which ought to have been written by a Briton, has been compiled by a German and translated by a Frenchman. With regard to the name "Devil's Harp." When I came across this instrument I asked what it was called, and not a single Englishman could tell me anything about it, but a musical German told me it was a "Teufelsharfe." The Rebec I have is very rough; it was made in Zanzibar; the sound-hole is a primitive affair. As to the Sensza not being really ancient, one can only give one's own impression and that of missionaries one has met. The missionaries seem to take more interest in musical instruments than traders and others. A clever theologian I met was very great on the idea of the Land of Ophir, and what the Phœnicians had done, and how these tongues of metal were really relics of a bygone age dating back many, many centuries, and yet people who visited those places regarded the instruments with contempt, and did not bring them home. I considered that the Nail-fiddle was a bowed

instrument; the nails that I have seen are perpendicular, but in the Sensza the tongues are horizontal and clicked. Regarding the melodies—the folk-songs as you might call them—of the different African tribes, there is a very devoted amateur musician, a Mr. William Smith, one of the tellers of the Town Bank in Durban, who is a mine of information about such melodies. He can sing them for hours because he has lived among the natives, but when he dies they will die with him. If he could be persuaded to record these melodies they would form an interesting and precious volume. Mr. Brownlow, a missionary, has written a great deal about Zulu music. There is a copy of his book in the Library at Cape Town, but I believe nowhere else; so you see that something has been done, and I have no doubt before long a great deal will be done to spread a knowledge of Kafir music, and I hope it will be done by Britons and not by aliens. I thank you all very much for your attention, and Mr. Southgate for his kind words.

Mr. THELWALL.—Before we part might I ask one or two questions? Could Mr. Algernon Rose tell us whether these instruments are used as solos, or whether several instruments of the same kind play together, or whether instruments of different types are combined? Also whether there is anything approaching to rudimentary harmony, or are there only rhythm and melody?

Mr. ALGERNON ROSE.—You will see by that photograph taken in the compound at Kimberley where the natives are making music together, that they have in a sense an orchestra—the harmonicon, some drums, flutes, and so on. The African native is very practical; he has a scale which is very much like our own; he is very fond of manipulating two drum sticks, and the more playing there is, making dissonance or consonance, the better he seems pleased. I have seen a dozen of these Kafir boys clicking their Sensze together, and they seemed to play them artistically, giving way to one another in turn. If they are all of one tribe, they get on very well together, but if not, the effect is unsatisfactory. If there are four or five playing together and all know the tune, each will play the tune in turn while the others furnish arpeggiato accompaniments. The effect cannot be compared to our music, or to melodic Oriental music. The Kafirs like an accompaniment of some kind, and so long as it fits in fairly well it pleases them; it reminds one of the music of nature, the music one can sometimes hear in a valley when water is dropping from a height on to stones; a sort of Æolian music difficult to describe. It is certainly not like the music of the Japanese or Indians or Chinese. Kafirs like an accompaniment; at the same time it is not what we would consider harmony.

MAY 10, 1904

DR. C. MACLEAN, M.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,

IN THE CHAIR.

THE MUTILATION OF A MASTERPIECE.

BY WILLIAM H. CUMMINGS, MUS.D., F.S.A.

THE responsibilities of one who undertakes the editorship of the work of a deceased musician are many and serious: he is bound to present the text in its integrity, correcting of course any obvious clerical error, and where any point of ambiguity or doubt arises to call attention to it, and, if he please, suggest such an emendation as would appear in his judgment to carry out the intentions and exact meaning of the author. It is absolutely indispensable that an editor of music should be an expert musician, thoroughly conversant not only with the works of the composer he edits but also the methods and traditions of the period in which that composer lived. The editor will frequently have to decide on the authenticity of conflicting manuscripts and copies and to accept or reject this or that reading; but if he mutilate or add to the original draft of the author, he is like a fraudulent trustee and deserves the reprobation of all earnest workers. The annals of music, if carefully searched, would present numerous instances of unfair or unwise editorship. In passing one may mention Dean Aldrich, who edited and appropriated, I think without due acknowledgment, the music of Palestrina, Carissimi, and other Italian composers. The music of Purcell has notably suffered at the hands of unscrupulous or unskilful editors. Doubtless you are familiar with Dr. Boyce's treatment of Purcell's great *Te Deum* in D. He tried to Handelize it, probably with the best intention, but by expansion and additions he made it about a third longer than the composer's original draft. This same *Te Deum* was treated in a far more

shameful manner by Stafford Smith. He published the work with the following title, "Mr. Purcell's grand *Te Deum* Alter'd and Digested for the Use of His Majesty's Chapel Royal, also adapted for the Organ or Harpsichord only, by John Stafford Smith, Being Proper for all Chorus and places where they sing in parts." This is one of the most impertinent pieces of vandalism I am acquainted with. The work is transposed a note lower throughout, and is rightly described as having been "altered and digested." Smith's digestion must have been of a remarkable character; he reduced the length of the composition by about one-third, and introduced much of his own composition or *decomposition* into the remaining two-thirds. I have brought a copy of this Smith concoction for your inspection, and also the first printed edition of the *Te Deum* published by Purcell's widow.

Let me hasten to speak of Handel and the particular instance of the "mutilation of a masterpiece" which I desire to submit to your critical notice. I trust I shall elicit some emphatic expressions of condemnation of the inartistic and disastrous methods employed.

Handel, as you know, has been edited by many capable musicians, notably Mozart and Mendelssohn. Mozart frequently exhibited exquisite skill in the additional accompaniments he supplied, and, although these cannot possibly meet with entire acceptance by thoughtful musicians, it cannot be denied that they are, as a rule, poetic and suggestive. We must not forget that Mozart was specially commissioned by Baron von Swieten to write these additional accompaniments for performances under peculiar conditions—to provide parts for the orchestra of the Baron, and to fill in what was originally intended for harpsichord and organ. The Handel works so dealt with by Mozart were "*Acis and Galatea*," "*Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*," "*Alexander's Feast*," and the "*Messiah*"; there is good reason for believing that Mozart's accompaniments to the "*Messiah*" were added to (not to their improvement) by John Adam Hiller,—born in 1728—who died in 1804, one year after the publication by Breitkopf and Härtel of Handel's "*Messiah*" with additional accompaniments, described as *after* Mozart's arrangement. Hauptmann has aptly described these additional accompaniments as stucco ornaments on a marble temple. I have mentioned Mendelssohn as an editor of Handel. He, again, is not blameless; witness his additional accompaniments to the *Te Deum* in D, where he re-writes and mutilates Handel's trumpet parts, and also his arrangement of "*Acis and Galatea*," made in 1829. In this latter work he injudiciously filled up with chords the eloquent silences left by Handel in the chorus "*Wretched lovers*," thus following the bad

example set by Mozart in dealing with the air "He was despised." But it must be carefully noted that Mendelssohn afterwards repented his mistakes, and in a letter written to Devrient in 1833 he speaks of them as "interpolations of a very arbitrary kind, mistakes, as I now consider them, which I am anxious to correct." I think you will agree with me that after such a strong statement by Mendelssohn, his unfortunate arrangements ought never to have been published. Mendelssohn afterwards edited the "Israel in Egypt" for the London Handel Society, in which he incorporated an organ part, admirable for its good taste although by no means supplying a complete substitute for the harpsichord and organ as used by Handel himself.

"Israel in Egypt," edited by Mendelssohn, was published in London in 1844, with a preface written by him so admirably conceived and expressed that it deserves special recognition. I therefore quote some of the paragraphs to show what a sane and just view Mendelssohn took of the duties of an editor. He says: "The Council of the Handel Society having done me the honour to request me to edit 'Israel in Egypt,' an Oratorio which I have always viewed as one of the greatest and most lasting musical works, I think it my first duty to lay before the Society the Score as Handel wrote it, without introducing the least alteration, and without mixing up any remarks or notes of my own with those of Handel. In the next place, as there is no doubt that he himself introduced many things at the performance of his works which were not accurately written down, and which even now, when his music is performed, are supplied by a sort of tradition, according to the fancy of the conductor and organist, it becomes my second duty to offer an opinion in all such cases; but I think it of paramount importance that all my remarks should be kept strictly separate from the Original Score, and that the latter should be given in its entire purity, in order to afford to every one an opportunity of resorting to Handel himself, and not to obtrude any suggestions of mine upon those who may differ from me in opinion.

"The whole of the Score (excepting my Organ part and Pianoforte arrangement, which are distinguished by being printed in small notes) is therefore printed according to Handel's manuscript in the Queen's Library. I have neither allowed myself to deviate from his authority in describing the movements in the Score, nor in marking *pianos* and *fortes*, nor in the figuring of the bass, because he has frequently done so himself in his manuscripts (for instance, the Chorus 'The people shall hear' affords a striking instance of the accuracy with which he occasionally did it). Those remarks of mine which I had to offer, are therefore *only* to be found in

the Pianoforte arrangement, and those which are contained in the Score are written by Handel himself The descriptions of movements, metronomes, *pianos* and *fortes*, &c., which I would introduce had I to conduct the Oratorio, are to be found in the *Pianoforte Arrangement*. Whoever wishes to adopt them can easily insert them in the Original Score, and he who prefers any other is not misled so as to take my directions for those which Handel wrote himself.

“Signed, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy,

“London, 4th July, 1844.”

Speaking of Mendelssohn's edition of “Israel in Egypt,” I must remind you that many years after its publication the trombone parts written by Handel for the work were discovered bound up at the end of Handel's conducting copy, therefore we know that Mendelssohn's score as printed does not now represent the whole instrumentation of Handel.

I feel almost necessitated to apologise for dragging from its obscurity the shameful labours of an English musician, Thomas Pitt, who, originally a chorister in Worcester Cathedral, became organist of that church, which appointment he resigned in 1806. In 1789 he published a volume entitled “Church Music, consisting of Ten Anthems from the Sacred Works of Handel, selected and adapted for the use of Choirs by Thomas Pitt.” I remember with regret that when I was a chorister-boy in St. Paul's Cathedral, some sixty-two years ago, these mutilations from Handel were in constant use there. A few examples of Pitt's handiwork will suffice:—

The chorus “Let all the angels of God” Pitt has shortened by cutting out the bars from 4 to 10 and the four concluding bars.

“Lift up your heads” he amends by changing all the accents from bar 10; he cuts out bar 23 and all the *ritornels*; from the point where in the original the two sopranos sing the same part, after giving two bars of Handel he again excises nineteen bars.

From the recitative “Thus saith the Lord” the characteristic semiquavers in the accompaniment to the words “All nations; I'll shake the heavens, the earth, the sea” are changed to quavers, and a puerile shake and turn are added as improvements.

“But who may abide” has four bars ruthlessly cut from the symphony; at the words “for he is like a refiner's fire” we have six bars of Handel and then a cut of sixteen, with a fatuous pause on the word “like.”

The chorus “And He shall purify” has mercifully only two bars cut.

"Rejoice greatly" is shortened by removing six bars of the symphony, the *ritornel* eleven bars, and another twenty-two bars.

"He shall feed His flock" is reduced from nineteen bars to twelve; "Come unto Him" from twenty-seven to thirteen; the chorus "His yoke is easy" from fifty-one to thirty-five. "And the glory" is deprived of the symphony and *ritornel* in addition to the excision of twenty-six bars.

"O thou that tellest" from 106 bars is pared down to forty. The chorus "The Lord gave the word" is improved by reduction from thirty-six to twenty-two bars.

The Pastoral Symphony presents the first part only. In the recitative "And lo the angel" the semiquaver accompaniment is deleted. You will not be astonished to learn that from the recitative "And suddenly" all the symphonies, and the picturesque semiquaver accompaniments were cut out.

"Every valley," in the key of D, is reduced from eighty-five bars to sixty-three.

Enough of this wearisome stuff, which is a discredit to the taste of the age and to the musicianship of the time in which it was perpetrated and accepted! I believe and hope that its puerilities are no longer permitted in any church or chapel in the land.

I am reminded here of an anecdote related by Dibdin, who, touring in the West of England, one day encountered some rustics who were carrying music-books and musical instruments. He asked them what was in preparation; they replied they were on their way to church to practise the music for Sunday. "What music do you play?" said Dibdin. "Oh! Handel's," was the answer. "Don't you find Handel's music rather difficult?" "Ees, it was at first, *but* we alter'd un, and so us does very well wi un now."

It is recorded that Jenny Lind, a devout student and unrivalled exponent of Handel's music, said, "Before you can make the world understand what a beautiful thing the score of the 'Messiah' is you must wash it clean." That opinion I believe has long been entertained by experts, and efforts have conscientiously been made to carry the principle into effect. The name of Dr. Chrysander will at once occur to us. I knew him well, and for his work and memory I entertain a sincere regard. He gave up the best part of his life to the production of the works of Handel in the magnificent collection known as the German Society's edition. If we remark that this edition is not faultless, it is only another reminder that perfection is impossible in all human endeavours. It is a significant and pathetic fact that Dr. Chrysander delayed the production of the score of the "Messiah" until the very end of his labours. Doubtless he

realised the importance of producing an absolutely clear score and a correct version of the most popular of all the composer's oratorios. He likewise was keenly alive to the difficulties of his self-imposed task. Only a few weeks before his death, which occurred on September 3, 1901, he corrected the last sheets of the full score of the "Messiah." He did not live to see the publication, but he subscribed the dedication in August, 1901, and the work was issued to the public in 1902. We must not omit also to place to the credit of Dr. Chrysander the publication of various facsimiles of Handel's autograph MSS., particularly those of the "Messiah," and many separate pages connected with that oratorio preserved in the Dublin score and elsewhere. He thereby supplied us with material for judging Handel by his own autograph evidence.

Oh! that he had been content with those splendid labours and had then stayed his hand. Unfortunately he seems to have been tempted by some evil genius to proceed to make what he called a conducting or performing version; he appears to have considered that a life of forty years spent in editing and printing Handel's scores entitled him to deal with the performing versions as he pleased, abstracting, adding, and altering *ad libitum*. The result of this chimerical idea is unhappily shown in the vocal score of the "Messiah" prepared by him, and published after his death in 1902.

The vocal score was printed in Leipzig with German text, and in the Preface Chrysander writes "With us, in Handel's fatherland, where his Oratorio has in former centuries been completely misunderstood, and where it was never properly performed, the apparently thin score has to a great extent been the cause of our setting out on a wrong track, and making Handel's Oratorio a failure. This can now be considered as past. Having gone back to Handel, and freshly studied him, lovers of noble music can now enjoy, under *original* conditions, the gems of this branch, of which the 'Messiah' is the most worthy."

The *original* conditions, on examination, prove to be Chrysander's, and not Handel's, and I venture to think you will find them not only original but offensive to the last degree. To prove that I am not exaggerating I shall go through the work page by page.

At the end of the opening *Grave*, there is no indication in Handel's autograph of a *rallentando* or *ritardando*, but Chrysander has doubled the length of all the notes in the last five bars; he then cuts out the whole of the fugato *allegro moderato*, and proceeds direct to "Comfort ye." More wonderful still he indicates for the accompaniment string orchestra, the cembalo, and *harp*. Why harp, in the name of common-sense! Handel did write for the harp in a few of

his works, but he certainly never contemplated it in connection with the "Messiah." Chrysander has inserted a questionable *appoggiatura* and F on the second syllable of "iniquity." He breaks the recitative by adding a bar to the *ritornel* after "pardon'd," and makes a new number, with a new metronome time, commence at the words "the voice of him," which he alters and vulgarises, as you shall hear.

"Ev'ry valley," the whole of the bright descriptive symphony is cut out: at bar 11 of the voice part he introduces a chord where Handel gives no harmony. I find this blemish in the full score, in Chrysander's pianoforte part, but there it does no harm, because the musician seeing the full score can at once recognise that it is *de trop*. A little later we find *grupetti* and ornamentation introduced in the worst taste, and at the end of the air he gives three cadences, the first labelled "Handel"; but here again Chrysander has blundered, for although it is true that in the Dublin score *Smith*, not Handel, pencilled-in a cadence, doubtless the one sung by Signora Avolio, the soprano, even that is not given correctly by Chrysander. The second cadence is dated 1790, but no evidence is given whence it is obtained (Handel had then been dead thirty-one years), and the third cadence is Chrysander's—it is monstrous in structure, compass, and taste.

The chorus "And the glory" is shortened by cutting fifteen bars after bar 73. An unwarrantable slackening of the time is indicated ten bars before the close; Handel's direction is for the last four bars to be so treated.

The magnificent dramatic scene which includes the recitative "Thus saith the Lord," the air "But who may abide," and the chorus "And He shall purify" are all omitted without a word or note to inform the reader that this mutilation had been exercised.

In "O thou that tellest," at bars 17, 21, 29, and 35, we find various trivial ornaments which form no part of Handel. In bars 76, 82, and 84, Chrysander presumes to attempt to improve the original. At bar 104, the close of the solo, Chrysander changes the time from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ in order to introduce a commonplace cadence. The entry of the chorus is also wrong, both in the arrangement we are reviewing and in the full score. Handel wrote and intended that the first quaver A for the soprano chorus on the word O should be accompanied by the violins only; Chrysander makes the string basses hold on the D from the previous chord, giving the effect of bare fifths!

At bar 18 of the chorus Chrysander waters down the soprano part in a childish manner, and repeats the offence at bar 32, and finishes a sad specimen of editorship by cutting eight bars from the concluding symphony, to which he introduces a remarkable final pause.

"For behold darkness" the melody is changed at bars 18, 21, 22, and 23. "The people that walked in darkness" is, you will remember, the air to which Mozart put such beautiful accompaniments, and which a better and more conservative feeling has thought it wise not to use, but to follow Handel's expressed direction that the strings are to play in octaves with the bass. Chrysander, in the pianoforte part of the full score, and also in the performing vocal score, has given harmonies, not so good as those of Mozart but equally defiant of pure taste. At bar 19, in the *ritornel* where Handel has a chord of the 6th, Chrysander gives a $\frac{6}{5}$; in bars 27, 31, and 57 we find some ill-advised changes, and at bar 58 he boldly alters the time from quadruple to triple in order to introduce a vile and outrageous cadence. At the end of the symphony we are supplied with another superfluous pause; this may have been mercifully inserted to give the audience, who would probably sit aghast after hearing the prodigious cadence, time to recover breath.

The chorus "For unto us a child is born" is changed to solos for the various voices, soprano, tenor, alto, and bass; the full chorus being introduced at the word "Wonderful" for five bars only, then the directions are three choristers for each part, and at bar 53 half the choir are to sing, the whole resuming at bar 68. Let it specially be noted that Handel in *this* chorus has clearly written "*Tutti*" over every entrance of the voice parts.

For the pastoral symphony Chrysander introduces the *harp* and organ, and cuts it down to the first movement in C—there is no note or reference to show that Handel added a second part in G, with a return to the first part, making a refreshing and beautiful variety. The Handel idea is thus shorn of twenty bars.

The recitative "And lo, the Angel" is directed to be accompanied by strings, harp, and cembalo. Handel's accompaniment we know is quite complete and perfect with the string quartett; the harp and cembalo are therefore not only unnecessary but intrusive.

The recitative "And suddenly" is again disfigured by the addition to Handel's string quartett of the *harp* and cembalo, and for some unknown reason the final announcement to the words "and saying" on the high A is transposed an octave lower. The chorus "Glory to God" is directed to be sung by half the chorus, and the *harp* is again dragged in. Pauses are inserted in bars 5 and 14.

In "rejoice greatly" we find sundry grace notes introduced, and a miserable cadence at bar 35, another hideous disfigurement at bar 63, and after bar 68 twenty-two bars are cut out without any intimation to the reader of the mutilation. Later on, where Handel has the word 'shout' on the top F

followed by the note above, G, Chrysander in the most erratic manner makes the voice fall an octave F to F, with the result that the following interval for the singer is a ninth. We then have some curious ornamentation, and a change of time from quadruple to triple in order to admit one of Chrysander's original cadences.

The recitative "Then shall the eyes" is deleted; "He shall feed His flock" is disfigured by some *fiorituri* in bad taste; "Come unto Him" has various alterations of the melody and a vile final cadence. In "He was despised" we note the absence of the necessary A♯ at bar 20—this, by-the-way, is wanting in the full score. There are also some arbitrary and unwarranted alterations in the melody, and at the close of the first part in E flat Chrysander deletes the symphony and introduces the second part in C minor by a bridge of his own composition; he alters the melody in several places, also the time notation; the *Da Capo* is a thing of patches and impertinences.

The theme of the chorus "And with his stripes" he gives in wrong notation (following the mistake he has made in the full score); after bar 26 he coolly cuts out fifty-four bars—the most important part of the working of the fugue.

"All we like sheep" after bar 33 is shorn of twenty bars. The voices are made to sing a passage which in the original belongs to the orchestra, and the final five bars are marked *forte*; the undeviating tradition in this country has been the opposite, the words "the iniquity of us all" being always sung *piano* with a *diminuendo*. From the chorus "He trusted in God," after bar 20 he cuts out thirty-six bars—another shameful mutilation.

In "Thy rebuke" there are introduced some extraordinary *appoggiaturi*; the like remark applies to "Behold and see," also to "He was cut off." The melody of "But Thou didst not leave" is also doctored with paltry grace notes. From "Lift up your heads," after bar 35 nineteen are cut.

In "The Lord gave the word" pauses are introduced which find no suggestion in Handel's score. "How beautiful are the feet" is embellished with numerous trivialities and a cadence in the worst taste.

In place of the chorus "Their sound is gone out" we have a solo which Handel composed to those words, but with weak alterations by Dr. Chrysander.

"Why do the nations," so far as the first part is concerned, has only two emendations—not improvements; the second part of the air is however disfigured by two alternative cadences, one of them involving a change from quadruple to triple time.

The recitative "He that dwelleth" is omitted, and for the air "Thou shalt break them" a recitative is inserted,

founded on a pencilled copy in Smith's handwriting; whether sanctioned by Handel or not it is impossible to determine. Smith's recitative moreover is considerably distorted by Chrysander.

Mirabile dictu! the Hallelujah is not improved. The air "I know that my Redeemer" is considerably disfigured by tasteless ornaments, and there are also harmonies which find no warrant in Handel, and you will not be surprised to learn that in the final close of the voice part one bar is enlarged to three to introduce a cadence.

The recitative "Behold, I shew you a mystery" is changed in the final cadence in a very fantastic manner. From the symphony of "The trumpet shall sound" twelve bars have been cut, and after bar 31, thirty-three bars are excised; and again later on another nineteen bars are deleted, and yet again another six bars. Dr. Chrysander has concocted a second part from Handel's score, and finishes with a cadence which has no affinity to Handel's work.

The recitative "Then shall be brought to pass" is altered in a childish manner, and the duet "O death" is omitted.

"Blessing and honour" after bar 39 has thirteen bars cut. The last "Amen" chorus even Chrysander did not attempt to improve.

I think I have now shown you very clearly that a great wrong to Art and to the reputation of a great musician has been perpetrated in this mutilation of a masterpiece. I regret very sincerely that Dr. Chrysander was so ill advised as to attempt to improve that which should have been regarded as a solemn heritage and a sacred trust. The work of any great deceased master, poet, musician, or sculptor should be jealously preserved by all who presume to call themselves artists. I further regret this unfortunate conducting copy of the "Messiah," because I have read that many of our brother musicians of Germany, in years not long gone by, were inclined to regard Handel's music as rococo; surely if they innocently accept Dr. Chrysander's version as an authentic representation of the traditional manner of performing Handel's oratorios, they will believe they have just ground for their opinions. There are many here to-day who know full well that this distortion of Handel is abhorrent to *our* tastes and *our* customs, and I hope some will not hesitate to say as much.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are of course all agreed about the mutilations of the times to which Dr. Cummings referred at first. For the most part they were by small people. If I may endeavour to borrow the style of a gentleman who sits in front of me, Dr. Cummings has given a pill to correct the digestion of the gentleman who digested Purcell, he has consigned Thomas Pitt to the bottomless pit, and he has given a good shaking to the gentleman who introduced so many shakes. As to Mozart's "additional accompaniments" to the "Messiah," it should be borne in mind that he had no ideas of "editions" in his mind. He simply did work required by his patron to make possible certain German performances where there was no organ. This work fell into the hands of J. A. Hiller, and finally was adopted for practical needs in 1803 by an eminent German publishing firm. As to the subject of the latter part of the lecture, it is an important indictment by an important personage against an important writer; but even if you are prepared to be the jury, I am not prepared to do the summing-up. I confess that until the lecture was half-way through I did not know what work was about to be censured. I will only now, in inviting discussion, point out that the edition of the "Messiah" against which the lecturer has spoken is not the official full score issued by the German Handel Society, but an octavo vocal score issued as a "performing edition," and apparently under no special protection by that Society. I am not aware to what extent this "performing edition" of Chrysander's has been taken up in Germany, nor, indeed, why he prepared it, unless it was perhaps to "relieve his feelings." Whatever footing it is on, it must be remembered that an eminent firm in this country also has just issued its "performing edition" of the "Messiah," and how far that will be open to parallel criticism I do not know.

MR. F. G. EDWARDS.—Mr. Shedlock, who was obliged to leave the meeting, has asked me to mention that last year he heard Herr Franke's (the Cologne organist's) version of the "Messiah" at Duisburg—a version which, as Herr Franke told him, was based almost entirely on that of Chrysander's performing edition. Mr. Shedlock—who wrote a notice of this performance in *The Musical Times*—desires me also to say that he quite agrees with Dr. Cummings as to the monstrous mutilation of Handel's masterpiece. For myself, I should just like to remark that the German Handel Society's facsimile of the autograph is not above reproach. For example, in one place Handel, at the head of one of

the solos, is supposed to have written the word "mission"; what he really did write was "Miss Young"! The photographer, or someone, had touched up the plate, whereby "Miss Young" was converted into "Mission." Therefore, one must not put implicit confidence in the German Handel Society's facsimile.

MR. GOLDSCHMIDT.—For several reasons it is not quite easy for me to speak on this matter. I should have to be rather lengthy were I to tell of all my experience in connection with the "Messiah." I have had to do in a sense with most of the modern editions, and also with that of the Handel Society, the latest edition of the full score, edited by the late Dr. Chrysander. After Chrysander's death, the editor who completed that volume, namely, Dr. Seiffert (a well-known music historian in Berlin), came to London in order to compare his version, then in proof, with the copy I possess in John Christopher Smith's handwriting; in examining which he spent two days at my house. Dr. Chrysander has been most conscientious in his full-score editions—and it seems to me a very great pity that after doing this great and conscientious work, with very little benefit to himself (I believe he acknowledged in his preface that an English amateur had provided him with the means for publishing his monumental edition of Handel's works), he should have brought out a further edition which, in my opinion, Dr. Cummings has not stigmatized too severely. We must remember, however, that Handel as a conductor of his works was of a very elastic temperament, and in all the editions which I have examined there are constantly recurring passing-notes and *fiorituri*, which indicate that Handel gave way to the singers of his day. This brings me to the traditions of the solo singers of that period when my late wife—to whom Dr. Cummings has referred in such touching terms—began to sing the "Messiah" in England. She did so for the first time in 1850 at Liverpool, on the eve of sailing for the United States. She stopped in London in order to be coached by Sir George Smart, who had evidently followed all the traditions of the previous century, for better or worse. Luckily I have got a copy inscribed to my wife, prepared by him a few years later, in which he has introduced in the soprano part all the *fiorituri* and ornaments which were traditionally sung at the time. Madame Goldschmidt then went to him several times, but when she found that his version in many instances totally disagreed with Handel's music (as found in his own scores) she adopted the attitude which our lecturer has expressed in such eloquent terms. She never afterwards sang any of these emendations—to call them by a polite name. I have had to conduct the "Messiah" at two festivals in Germany, one on the Lower Rhine and the other at Hamburg. As to Germany,

we must allow for there being no tradition whatever in the rendering of Handel's music. In England, through services, oratorios, and festivals, there is such a tradition—in Germany there is none. Consequently, I found it very difficult, imbued as I was with the reading prevalent in England, to deal with the editions there employed; and of course also with Mozart's additional instrumentation. However, I had to accept what I found. With reference to Mozart, I must make one correction in the statement of our able lecturer. The order from Baron von Swieten successively for the four works of Handel which Mozart scored was necessitated by there being no organ in the great room called the Redouten-saal, which forms part of the Imperial Palace in Vienna. Indeed, in very few concert rooms in Germany, even to a much later day, was there an organ; and therefore what Mozart read as Handel's meaning had to be introduced, if at all, through the addition of wind instruments. I do think that some allowance should be made in view of these circumstances. And now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think I have occupied your time long enough, and I only wish to repeat that I possess that extraordinary copy of Sir George Smart's, with Handel's version in many places scratched out and replaced in red ink by Sir George's emendations. And to my dismay a daughter of his has lately presented a similar copy to the library of the Royal College of Music, which I have had the opportunity of inspecting. It has the same alterations and embellishments as contained in my own copy and which are supposed to have been sung by Madame Goldschmidt at her many renderings in England of the soprano part in the "Messiah." And I only hope that in the future it will not be supposed to have been her reading, a reproach from which Dr. Cummings's remarks and my own here made may help to save her.

MR. SOUTHGATE.—I should like to make a remark with regard to that noble preface of Mendelssohn's referred to by Dr. Cummings. If other editors would only act upon it, such mutilations and alterations would never take place again. Mr. Goldschmidt has certainly thrown some fresh light on the matter. He has told us that Handel is rather an unknown factor in Germany; and may not one explanation be the fact that in the case of some music, German singers have indulged in the cadences such as we have heard Dr. Cummings play to-day? Chrysander seems to have been cadence-mad; and the examples we have listened to I should say are the most extraordinary to be found. But one can remember various pieces of operatic flourishes and cadences in which something like that has been heard; possibly it may be some explanation of these extraordinary things. I was going to ask Dr. Cummings if he could tell us in his reply whether this

performing edition of Chrysander's had ever been heard ; but Mr. Shedlock has told us that it has been performed, or at least one founded on it. I wish Mr. Shedlock could tell us whether it was hissed or applauded. One can hardly think that if a notice of Dr. Cummings's remarks should appear in Germany, this version will ever be heard again. I should hope not, both for the sake of Handel and for the sake of the Germans. Of course there is a great deal of old music that seems to be written so high that it cannot be sung. Now I think an editor is justified in such a case in putting it in a lower key. Perhaps Dr. Cummings will say whether Handel's fork is not in existence ; if so, it would be one little piece of evidence that would settle the question of the alteration in pitch. If music, especially sacred music, was, according to the custom of that time, performed as the specimens we have heard, then I am very sorry for the sacred music of Germany.

(A vote of thanks was then passed to Dr. Cummings.)

Dr. CUMMINGS.—I am very much obliged to you for the kind way in which you have received my paper. I felt this was a solemn duty and a very unpleasant one. But do let us bear in mind with regard to the German musicians that we must not find fault with them. If they have no other standard they must be content with what is put before them. To change the pitch of any of the choruses is not a mutilation, but to take out the best part of a fugue is surely a mutilation. What would you think of a man who had a statue of Venus and who to satisfy his æsthetic ideas knocked off the arms, legs, etc., and left it a torso ? You would call it a mutilation ; and that is precisely analogous to what Chrysander has done with the "Messiah." Handel's tuning-fork is in existence, and we know that he set the oratorio about a tone lower than we sing it. Sometimes Chrysander puts a note an octave lower without rhyme or reason, and sometimes he puts it higher than Handel wrote it. I am very glad to have had you here to-day, especially Mr. Goldschmidt and one or two others who are capable of forming a very good judgment on the matter. Mr. Goldschmidt has studied the "Messiah" for a lifetime, and he of all men would be desirous of having the work of Handel handed down as the composer intended it. As our Proceedings will be published I do hope some of our friends in Germany will read the account of to-day, and not be misled by the so-called "performing" edition of Dr. Chrysander.

Mr. SOUTHGATE.—As this is the last time we shall meet in this room, I think we ought to give a Vote of Thanks to the Royal College of Organists for having accorded us their hospitality and the use of their room for the last ten years

I was an original member of the Society, and I remember our first meetings in Harley Street and our removal to the concert room of the Royal Academy of Music, and later to these premises. But now we are compelled to go, because the Royal College of Organists, under the terms of the lease of their new home in South Kensington, cannot let their rooms to any other Society. It is true we have been tenants of theirs, and have paid them a rent—a very modest rent; but independently of the use of this room they have always been ready to let us have a room for our Council Meetings, and the room where we have our tea; so I feel that on coming here for the last time, on the eve of parting from them, it would be very right that we should pass a Vote of Thanks to the Council for the kind way in which they have treated the Musical Association since we have been here.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I was going to draw attention to this matter. I can only say for my own part that I do not think we are very likely to get such a cheap and pleasant bargain again. We have every reason to be immensely grateful to the Royal College of Organists.

Mr. GOLDSCHMIDT seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

JUNE 14, 1904.

T. L. SOUTHGATE, Esq.,
IN THE CHAIR.

PERMANENT MUSICAL CRITERIA.

BY DONALD FRANCIS TOVEY, B.A.

INTRODUCTION.

I MUST apologise for the misleading appearance of my synopsis, but a line of argument such as I propose to follow always looks more complicated and disjointed in a synopsis than it really is. The real argument may prove to be a series of logical steps so gradual and so obvious as to seem a pile of platitudes, while the synopsis, which can only give the chief points, and those only in the shortest possible phrases, may seem to be a bundle of paradoxes. The most popular work on a philosophical subject looks ten times as technical and crude in the synopsis than it is in the text; and I fear that I shall seem to have come before you under false pretences, having promised something very abstruse and new, whereas I have only a few very obvious ways of putting together the plainest general truths about music, and have nothing more to say except to emphasise these particular and very familiar ways of putting them together.

In every age there is a certain parallel between the tendencies of art and those of criticism; not the highest art, for only in a "golden age," like the sixteenth century in music, is the highest art not altogether exceptional; nor always the highest criticism, for this also is rare, but, generally speaking, whatever tendency or method marks the average art of the period will also mark the average criticism. In an age in which poetry consists chiefly of epigrams in heroic couplets, we may expect that the criticism of poetry will consist chiefly of a summary of the information a poem conveys, together with praise or blame of the metre. Such

criticism will not account for the finest poetry even of its own school, and it will be as useless for earlier poetry as for later: but it will represent the actual state of things fairly well—a stage at which poetry tends to consist of prose “hitched into verse.”

In the same way the tendencies of criticism in Beethoven's day were the tendencies of art. Not Beethoven's art; that was above all tendencies but its own. But, just as the Hummels and Woelfls and Steibelts and such small deer seem to be trying to produce sonatas that are merely longer and more brilliant in pianoforte technique than Mozart's, so the critics of the time seem to have regarded the progress of music as dependent entirely on the combination of a novel brilliance of sound with just so much elegant novelty of manner as was compatible with an appearance of obedience to laws of art supposed by the more progressive critics to be deduced from the works of Mozart. How far the ordinary critical canons of Beethoven's time were really based on Mozart, or on any other great composer, is a very dark question. At all events, most of the criticism that set Mozart above Beethoven worshipped as a genuine work of Mozart's that absurd volume of parochial choral-writing and bad grammar known as the “Twelfth Mass.” What is fairly clear is that Beethoven's typical musical contemporaries were, or wished to be thought academic, and that criticism tried to be academic also. And with composers and critics alike the result was success for the moment and failure for ever. Neither the critics nor the Eberls and Steibelts realized the true academic method which is based on the study of the classics of the art. The pseudo-academic spirit which possessed them is not based on the study of classics at all; it is based on names and reputations. It creeps into academies, but not because they are academies; it is as rife among progressive critics as among antiquarians. It is simply the *vis inertiae* by which we remain with all our ordinary ways of thinking and read great works of art only in their light; and thus it is the reason why in each age ordinary art and ordinary criticism are counterparts.

At the present time there can be no doubt that the watchword of the musical man in the street is “progress.” Also, with the so-called academic critics of the past before us in the pillory, we are in mortal dread of academicism, and it is not etiquette to say anything about music that could possibly seem as if it might have been said a hundred years ago. We try to avoid anything that looks like the mistakes of Beethoven's detractors; and some serious thinkers would have it that we fall into the other extreme. But do we? Is not the tendency to reduce great art to the terms of ordinary philistinism a thing that will survive every conceivable

change of subject-matter and critical manner? Can we become progressive by taking "progress" as our watchword, when we mean by it nothing more definite than the ideas of the man in the street? It seems likely that the typical criticism of the present age will be fundamentally like that of the past, based on mere current ideas, unable to give a true account even of what it most admires, and, even in its most universal criteria, curiously irrelevant to the works of any other period, past or future.

Are there, then, no permanent criteria? And if there are, where are they to be sought? One answer that is still constantly given and accepted is that the truth is to be reached by the study of the great masters: but this, of course, is promptly dubbed "the academic point of view," and is too often condemned merely for that bad name. Its real weakness has nothing to do with academicism, healthy or unsound; it results from a certain confusion of thought. The study of the great masters does not directly give us criteria for new works of art; it is simply necessary for the formation of good taste and for the development of any sort of faculty for understanding works of which the beauties may not be exhausted at a single hearing by the most indolent listener. Now, take the case of a keen and open-minded listener whose musical culture begins with Bach and ends with Schumann. To such a man the mental gymnastics of acquiring an ear for Palestrina would probably be far more severe than that of dismissing all impressions of Anti-Wagnerian reports and learning to love "*Der Ring des Nibelungen*"; for the vast new resources that would reveal themselves to him in every direction in Wagner's art would attract his attention even where they most bewilder him; while Palestrina's art, though still more remote from the everyday workings of the modern mind, would make, on a first acquaintance, a series of almost entirely negative impressions;—an apparent lack of almost every essential of classical music from Bach onwards, and no describable characteristic except that of vagueness of key. When these impressions are crowded out by the vivid enjoyment that comes from familiarity with Palestrina's art there is a great quickening of one's sense of harmony, tonality, vocal effect, and (little as we acknowledge it) rhythm; and this for two reasons; firstly because one has come into contact with these great musical principles at an earlier stage of development than one had recognised hitherto, a stage in which they show less of those external attractions which in later works catch the wandering attention of our work-a-day minds, too often to keep it for ever on the surface; and secondly because, early as this stage of development is, it is not archaic, but mature; it is a stage in which all that each work of art

contains is clearly and adequately expressed. Nothing like such a quickening of one's musical sensibilities could be obtained by the study of the archaic works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or the transitional and experimental works of Monteverde, though such things are far more remote from our ways of thinking and are immensely interesting from many points of view. But they could no more take the place of Palestrina in one's musical culture than Sanskrit can take the place of Greek.

It is clear, then, that the study of classics, including the earliest classics, is by no means unconnected with the question of permanent criteria, since it develops that very elasticity of mind on which the catholicity of ideal criticism must depend. But it is equally clear that the mere study of classics will not of itself lead to a criterion, and we know that it has in fact often led to an incurable habit of treating new works as if they were old ones gone wrong. The permanent criteria must already lie behind our study of the classics—indeed, they must obviously be our means of determining what works are classics to begin with.

And now, with your permission, I propose to run very briefly over the line of argument of which the synopsis gives such an inadequate and unprepossessing account. I have tried to clear the ground by thus much introduction, in the forlorn hope of removing the impression which must be produced by a synopsis of an argument of which the convincingness depends just on those obvious steps which a synopsis must omit.

I.—THE WORK OF ART.

In the first place, then, whatever may be the case with the criteria of poetry or the plastic arts, the range of music is so enormous that our only safe course is to begin with something that is true of all works of art whatever. The difference between the "Missa Papæ Marcelli" of Palestrina and the "Heldenleben" of Richard Strauss is too great to be bridged over by anything less at the outset. Even such general musical notions as harmony, melody, and rhythm, must come later.

What is a work of art? We must not mistake the nature of this question by trying to answer it in an epigram, or even by bursting out with an artist's warm-hearted confession of faith. We only want to arrive at a definition that is true of all works of art, and such a definition need not offend us if it seems a very poor and cold thing, for it must of course ignore all that makes one work differ from another. What, then, is peculiar to works of art and at the same time common to them all? If we take the only safe guide, our own experience of works of art, I think we shall find that we

derive from them all a certain sense of vividness and completeness. They all ultimately aim at being vivid and complete;—we may be slow or quick to recognize these qualities, and the works may more or less fail to attain them; but these qualities are common to all works of art. Everything else, such as, for instance, "emotional appeal," will be found to be either absent from some undoubtedly important works of art or else of very doubtful position in them. A great cathedral, for example, does produce a strong emotional effect on many persons; but there is good reason for saying that the emotion is not in the cathedral itself but is an effect of it on the spectator.

At all events there can be no harm in accepting these two qualities of vividness and completeness as the common elements in all works of art. A drama is a work of art made of a representation of human experiences; the experiences may be more or less remote from ordinary life: but whether they are supernatural and heroic, or squalidly realistic, they must differ from ordinary life by a vividness of presentation which is not like mere memory, and a completeness and finality which is not like any personal experience at all.

Another way of looking at it is to compare art with science. All logical thought presupposes perfect consistency in the universe; and science aims at the obviously unattainable goal of realizing this perfect consistency everywhere. But though this is unattainable, though the finite cannot realize the infinite, yet the human mind can continue through all human lifetimes realizing more and more of this perfect consistency where it had before seen only chaos and contradiction. Go to the man of science who has just discovered new chemical elements that verify a law he had long hoped to formulate, and see if you can discourage him by pointing out that the unknown will always be greater than the known. You will find him at the height of his earthly happiness, and all you will have told him is that he can go on realizing more of such happiness for ever. He knows that the universe is consistent whether he can realize it or not; he is devoted to the task of realizing that consistency; he has now seen order where before he could only see chaos, and his belief in the harmony of the infinite whole has gained fresh strength.

Now what the artist does is in one sense the opposite and in another the analogue of this work of science. He is no more able than the man of science to realize the consistency of an infinite universe, nor is there anything in his own finite experience that does not at some point or other connect itself with the infinite whole. But there is much in human experience that may be, so to speak, cut off from the rest and rearranged until it bears investigation as a thing complete and perfectly consistent in itself. And this is what we call a

work of art. The completeness must be in all directions; there must not be a complexity and development in one line that is not deduced by the rest of the whole: you cannot, for example, make a work of art out of a chess-problem, for no amount of analysis will show any relation between the shapes of the men and their moves, nor indeed would a lifetime of looking at all the chess-problems in the world enable anyone unacquainted with the moves of chess to guess them or their reason. The work of art must speak for itself; it may need long familiarity; it may even be so difficult that familiarity can only be attained in a lifetime by those whom wide and deep experience of works of art has made quick to grasp the meaning of new art; but in the last resort a work of art depends for its intelligibility on no special technical knowledge, on no connection with other works of art, on nothing but its own treatment of materials that belong to other works only in so far as they belong to humanity itself. This completeness and consistency may best be described as organic unity. When the tests of such an organic whole are successfully fulfilled the work of art is a permanent source of a kind of satisfaction peculiar to it and different from the satisfaction of science. Like a scientific discovery, a work of art strengthens our belief in the existence of infinite and perfect consistency, by showing us perfection and consistency where without it we could only see something comparatively chaotic. But it does not, like the scientific discovery, point to fresh triumphs in the same field; in one sense it is narrower, because it logically and literally shows us nothing beyond itself; but in another sense it is higher than science, because by being organic and perfect it becomes to us a type of nothing less than the very organic unity and perfection of the infinite whole—that sea-shore on which science gathers its pebbles, that perfection to which science looks but which it can never comprehend.

It is important to note that this view does not imply that art need always be optimistic. Art may present to us a world made up of human experiences, and may impress us most powerfully with the grandeur and perfection of that world without for a moment implying that the happiness of the human beings therein concerned is the axis on which that world revolves. The great Greek tragedies, for example, are very far from encouraging any such view. They represent human beings as perishing by a fate that is brought on them, it may be, by their very nobility of character. The flaw in the tragic hero's character that brings his doom upon him is not necessarily a thing to be recognized as a moral defect in any ordinary sense of the word, but it is something which unfits him for a prosperous life in the world of which he is a part; and in a true classical tragedy the more immediately

our sympathies are appealed to by the character of the hero, the more irresistibly are we compelled to feel that his world, his destiny, of which he is both the instrument and the victim, is something grander and higher than any possible gratification of our immediate sympathies. A true tragedy is thus the very opposite of those eminently successful attempts to make us feel miserable that have in all ages been accepted as eligible substitutes for tragic appeal. Compare, for example, Berlioz's "*Faust*" with Goethe's.

The perfect work of art is, then, a finite and detached organism, showing us an analogue of some such completeness and consistency as we vainly but inevitably and rightly aspire to see in life and in the universe. The work of art is, in short, a microcosm. No array of evidence from imperfect works, efforts of crude realism, novels with a purpose, architectural designs that serve some purely practical end, such as bridges, can impugn the truth of this view. The novel with a purpose is read where the Blue-book is not. Why? Because it does not deal with its purpose like a Blue-book, but, however imperfectly, like a work of art. Good art or bad, it *is* art with its sacrifice of completeness of circumstance to completeness of impression.

It would be not only interesting but, for the sake of removing many of the difficulties of the subject, desirable to illustrate this view further, but time presses, and I must ask your permission to take this definition as settled and to proceed with certain important inferences from it.

II.—LAWS OF ART.

Firstly, then, if a work of art is a detached organism, or a microcosm, no two works can be made of exactly the same materials or of materials treated in exactly the same way.

Secondly, there is on the other hand no saying how much may be common to many different works; for the slightest differences in material and treatment may serve to distinguish one work of art from another. Take, as a crude instance of the enormous amount of material that may be common to even more than one group of arts, the fact that language, with all its complex laws and resources, is common to all literature; and that if we wish to distinguish the whole group of poetic art-forms from the forms of prose we must add to this all the things that distinguish poetic diction and rhythm from prose. Or, again, in a narrower field, take the very large mass of information we need to collect before we can arrive at a statement of the general principles of sonata form—information which would be true of some thousands of extant sonatas, a good four or five hundred of which are undoubted classics.

From these two considerations we may in passing draw further important inferences as to the nature of *originality*. Originality is often treated as if it were an easy criterion to handle: but a little reflection will show that its use in popular parlance does not conduce to accuracy or enlightenment. In the true sense of the word originality is essential to every work of art: this is a direct inference from the statement that no two works can have exactly the same materials and treatment. But the popular sense of the word seems to be little more than a notion of obvious novelty, perhaps tempered (to the "academically-minded") by another vague notion of "legitimacy." And this is absolutely useless as a criterion: for one of the surest signs of a really independent and artistic mind is a complete indifference to a thing's "having been done before" so long as it is the right thing in the right place. No great artist ever avoided a thing merely because it was old; to do so would be to submit to as low a slavery as pedantry ever devised. Time forbids the further working out of this point, and we must now take the next step in the argument and lead as rapidly as may be to our conclusions.

From these two principles, the independence of each work of art, and the possibility of many works on similar material, spring all those principles that appear, with more or less deceptiveness, to be fundamental laws of art. Now, much that has been deduced from the common material of many works is of great value within its limits, since all results of modest and methodic observation have their use. But it is apt to lead to that most dangerous chimera of criticism—the conception of Art, with a capital A, as a whole—a sham universe, of which criticism is the science. We cannot take our stand too firmly on the denial of this doctrine. Art as a whole does not and never will exist. All the works of art that ever were and ever will be written will not make a whole; but each individual work is professedly a whole, in so far as it is art, and it must, like our ideal view of the universe, stand or fall by its own consistency.

The tendency to treat Art like a kind of science is responsible for a great variety of effective but unsound criticism. Take, for example, one of the most prominent topics of modern musical conversation—the question of programme-music. Probably more breath is wasted in trying to demolish the "symphonic poem" as an art-form by *a priori* metaphysics than has ever been wasted in musical party-politics since the war of the Gluckists and Piccinnists. And with the first symphonic poem in which the music shall have, so to speak, digested its programme, as, in a simpler and more purely musical way Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony and "Lebewohl" Sonata have digested theirs, the whole pile of bad

metaphysics will drift back to its native limbo. The only question that can ever be discussed with any real accuracy and soundness is whether this particular symphonic poem is so far consistent and beautiful that it justifies its existence as a work of art; the general question as to the "legitimacy" of such programme-music may be interesting and may lead to valuable observations, but it is intrinsically absurd. It is like asking whether a bridge can be of artistic design so long as it is available for traffic; and it may be disposed of by the same answer. So long as the engineering technique of bridge-building is in such a stage that under the given conditions it cannot produce beautiful lines, then your bridge cannot be artistic without becoming unsafe; but as soon as the engineering can result in beautiful lines, then the finest bridge will be as great an artistic as a mechanical triumph.

The Forth bridge is a colossal piece of engineering, but makes no pretensions of an artistic kind. The new bridge over the Rhine at Bonn has a girder which is of immense interest to engineers and is far more satisfactory to the artistic eye than the decorations of the towers that are intended to be unfettered art. And so with the symphonic poem. If its music can carry the programme without buckling and splitting, well and good. But if the music is always stopping to make a noise illustrative of something in the programme, and the programme is always stopping for the music to finish its musical design, then this particular symphonic poem is a failure. But we cannot safely infer from this that symphonic poems are impossible, any more than we could infer it from the mere fact that in any given symphonic poem the music and the programme were each vulgar in themselves. And as soon as we try to draw any such general inferences we shall very likely be confronted by some new piece of programme music in which every element is perfectly in place and the whole as harmonious as any classic.

The simplest examples are often the best in such matters, and we have an obvious case at hand in the familiar facts as to the choice of key for the second subject in the sonata form. Imagine for a moment the point of view of an orthodox critic addicted to *a priori* quasi-scientific inductive generalizing, living just a hundred years ago and making the acquaintance of Beethoven's C Major String Quintet. He would feel that if ever there was evidence for a law of art there was enough to establish a law that in the modern sonata form the second subject of a major movement was always in the dominant; for he could not find a single instance to the contrary, though almost all instrumental music since the rise of non-polyphonic forms took the shape of some kind of sonata. And just as this

"law" seems proved by something before which old-fashioned logicians would have fallen down in worship as a "perfect induction," up rises Beethoven and produces great works in which the second subject is inevitably and rightly in the sub-mediante. There is no deriving any fixed artistic laws except from the necessities of the organisation of the particular work in hand. If Mozart wrote several hundred binary movements with the second subject in the dominant, that was simply because on several hundred separate occasions that was the right way to treat the material of the work in hand. No doubt it was so obviously right, and had been right so long before Mozart's own time, that it was not a matter for deliberation at all; but the difference between a great artist and a feeble one is just this, that no amount of custom can make the great artist cease to do the right thing in the right place, whether that thing seem new or old, while the average artist tends to become a slave to custom, either directly, by always doing what is usual, or indirectly, by always doing the opposite. As soon as Beethoven's material became so far different from Mozart's that the key-system was involved, the question of the complementary key for the second subject ceased to have only one answer to it; but it is quite possible that if Beethoven had not produced works in which remoter complementary keys were necessitated by his material, some would-be progressive lesser lights might have taken to using such keys for no better reason than that they were bored by the dominant, and with no real sense of their value in relation to the material of the work.

There are, then, general and permanent artistic laws, but only in so far as there are laws universally true of all organic unity. If there is any law at all for such a special matter as the key for a second subject in a binary movement, it must be a law which compels the first movement of the "Waldstein" Sonata to take the mediant for the same reason as it compels that of the "Jupiter" Symphony to take the dominant. And we should probably find, if we tried to work the matter out, that our law would be little more than the plain statement that the complementary key must be so chosen and asserted as to contribute its proper share to the harmonic and tonal scheme of the whole.

Let us try to find one or two more laws, a little more valuable than this. We shall do better with matters that are not peculiar to one art-form. The nearer we come to some great and universal element of music or art, the more definite will be the true laws that we can deduce as principles of organic unity.

One most universal principle of this kind will occur to us readily; the principle of economy of material. In a perfect organic unity no part is superfluous or inadequate for its

function. The universal truth of this as a law of art is as obvious as daylight, and it is one of the soundest of popular and academic criteria in the discussion of such matters as orchestration, and the display of virtuosity, whether in instrumental technique or in the devices which persons unacquainted with polyphonic music call contrapuntal. A very good illustration, curious in its sharp contrast with all the other aspects of the exquisite art in which it occurs, is the violoncello part of all Haydn's Pianoforte Trios; a survival of the practice which (according to W. Rust) seems to have been in favour in Bach's time, of using a violoncello to double the bass in sonatas for violin and harpsichord. The effect, with a harpsichord, and with polyphonic music where the bass is almost throughout melodically valuable, was excellent; and the violoncello part, though the composer never troubled to write it out, was no more obtrusive or superfluous than are the leaded outlines in a stained-glass window. But with music in the harmonic style, and especially with the pianoforte, such a violoncello part is an unmitigated nuisance. When these trios were played with the harpsichord the bass must have revealed itself as not at all the sort of thing that ought to be so brought out; and with the pianoforte it sounds better only because the style is much more pianoforte than harpsichord and the violoncello becomes less audible. But there can be no doubt that if the example of some recent players were followed up and these trios played as violin-sonatas, a very great mass of superb music would be restored to a public that has long forgotten its existence.

Again there are obviously many questions of consistency of style which are so clearly matters of organic unity that we may safely deduce laws from them. But let us now turn to something more peculiarly musical. Take one of the elementary precepts of musical grammar, the rule that forbids consecutive fifths, and see if we can find a permanent law behind this. Obviously the rule itself is not a permanent law as it stands; for we have only to take such a familiar passage as this from the "Waldstein" Sonata:—



and we find, not only that the fifths from the bass are not offensive, but that they are absolutely necessary to the correctness of the passage, since without them the chords

sound rough with double thirds and leading-notes, and top-heavy above and thin below. Now we are entitled to expect some permanent law about fifths since they are, next to octaves, the most elementary and universal things in music; but, whatever this law may be, it must be capable of producing the opposite results of such a necessity for consecutive fifths as we find in this pianoforte passage, and such a total impossibility of anything of the sort as we find in contrapuntal choral-writing. And, of course, it must be a result of the nature of the fifth itself. We have only to turn to the explanation usually given for the prohibition of consecutive octaves, and we shall find ourselves in possession of half the truth. Casual consecutive octaves are forbidden because they cause the parts that indulge in them to double each other so as to lose independence, weaken the harmony, and reinforce each other without rhyme or reason. And this is really precisely the ground for the objection to consecutive fifths, and the matter is only slightly obscured by the fact that in modern harmony the fifth suggests a skeleton of a common-chord, so that we do not think of it simply as an interval in which parts can be non-harmonically doubled, as people thought in the days of Diaphonia. But it still retains its character as an interval of low harmonic value, an interval compressed from the twelfth. And the twelfth is, like the octave, a mere reinforcing by the upper note of some of the harmonics of the lower. Thus, two parts that move in fifths reinforce each other just like parts moving in octaves, and the whole legislation on the subject of these forbidden consecutives resolves itself into the general principle that where parts are independent their integrity must not be violated. Now this principle is not always very simple in its application, for though in the sixteenth century parts always were independent, they are very often not so in modern music; and, again, the fifth is not always such a simple fact in modern harmony that the ear will recognise its primitive effect as a mere reinforcing of a fundamental note; and, lastly, there may be a complexity of causes for independence of parts to be revealed and obscured in momentary changes that can only be explained by patient analysis, though the effect may be of the most unobtrusively simple kind. But in that passage from the "Waldstein" Sonata the case is clear enough; the inner parts are not "real." Between the treble and bass, which are real, the chords are, so to speak, solidified into *lumps*; they are not the direct result of the motion of separate parts, but are *mere* chords, treated as if they existed without reference to the origin of all modern harmony in counterpoint. Omit any of the inner parts, and the texture of the others becomes revealed as part-writing of which the independence is not properly

maintained. Thus these fifths are here necessary to prevent the occasion in which the law against them comes into force. The process by which chords have attained this condition is exactly the same as that which takes place in language when expressions which at one time were felt to be highly figurative come to be used quite as a matter of course; such expressions as make so vast a difference between the whole manner and thought of modern English and ancient Greek; such as (to quote an example from a Greek grammar book), our way of saying "I took pleasure in her society," where the Athenian would have said "I was pleased being with her."

I have gone into the details of this very familiar subject, not with any chimerical idea of saying anything that would be new to you, but simply in order to illustrate the fact that behind even the most inelastic grammatical rule there is some real and universal principle which is capable of accounting for things diametrically opposed to the crude rule.

III.—PROGRESS AND ACHIEVEMENT.

Such principles will survive all the changes brought about by the progress of music; indeed they are the very cause of progress. What, after all, is the progress of art? Certainly not the same as the progress of science. In science the new theories supersede the old; but a great work of art is never superseded. It stands by its own consistency. The symphonies of Beethoven have not superseded those of Mozart; for what difference can it make to the perfection of a Mozart symphony that Beethoven afterwards produced equally perfect symphonies on a larger scale? The only indisputable fact in art to which the name of progress can be applied is that fundamental principle which we deduced from the nature of organic unity, the principle that every perfect work of art must differ in material and treatment from every other, according as is necessary for maintaining its own identity. And if we apply this principle to some of the great names in musical history we shall find the results to be very varied indeed. It would not be difficult to find half a dozen cases of progress which would show us as many diametrical oppositions in various categories. Take six of the greatest names in musical history, all of them famous as pioneers of progress: Monteverde, J. S. Bach, C. P. E. Bach, Haydn, Beethoven, and Wagner. I think it will be found that "progress" means an entirely different thing in each case. Monteverde is a maker of history, but although it needs great artistic power to make such history as he made, the fact remains that he never produced a work of art that can stand by its own consistency. He may be said to have discovered all the possibilities of modern music without

discovering how to use any one of them. Imagine a colour-blind draughtsman with an exquisite power of using light and shade, and when he is at the climax of his mastery let some magician open his eyes to the full perception of colour. It will be a long time before he can make "head or tail" of his new sensations, and if he were allowed to see no mature coloured art to save him from being lost in his new world as in a chaos, his first attempts at the use of colour would be quite as crude as Monteverde's attempts at non-polyphonic music with unessential discords. The parallel does not work out much farther; but it is at least true that the progress of Monteverde is as the progress of such a painter, and, grateful as we may be to Monteverde for making the art of Bach, and all else that we have loved since, possible, we can see that it is in neither an artistic nor a scientific sense that we can speak of his work as an "advance" on Palestrina's. It is, in fact, a colossal descent from Palestrina, a descent that was necessary before any "advance" could be made. In terms of true progress, the art of Palestrina had gone on producing works healthily different from each other, and the time was drawing near (though not so near that Vittoria and Anerio, and even Orlando Gibbons, could not continue the work for more than another generation yet) when no more such vital difference was possible without using material that had been inadmissible within the limits of pure modal harmony. And with such close limits and simple resources the art was very fragile. This was a Golden Age, and Monteverde's unprepared seventh was a key powerful enough to unlock the box of Pandora and let out all the ill music has since been heir to. But it let out the hope of a Bach, a Beethoven, a Wagner, and all that has since been great and noble; though it could not let out a foreknowledge of when these great men were to arise, or of how contemporaries might recognize them in their midst. And during the hundred-odd years between Palestrina's work and Bach's, progress was mainly historic rather than artistic. Later works superseded earlier like scientific theories, because they really were more like true works of art than the earlier. Small art-forms, like the Da Capo Aria and the Italian Sonata da Chiesa arose rapidly and strangled themselves in their own conventionality. But of true increase of range there is hardly a trace.

Now, let us ask, in what sense is J. S. Bach progressive? He shows a most radical advance on his predecessors in this, that his works stand permanently as works of art, whereas theirs need a sympathetic allowance for their inevitable immaturity. A Bach Toccata is a thing of perfect growth and irresistible climax. A Buxtehude Toccata is a mass of noble music from point to point, but at its best it barely saves itself from breaking up, and at less than its best it is

obviously patchy. Thus the difference between Bach and his predecessors is as radical as that between Monteverde and Palestrina, but it is in the opposite direction. Then, take the progress in Bach's own lifetime. We need not stop to knock an extra nail into the coffin of the once prevalent notion that Bach's style never changed; the difference between an early work like "Gott ist mein König," with its massive style so suggestive of what Handel might have confined himself to if he had never left Germany, and a very late one such as (speaking from recollection) I suppose "Jesu, der du meine Seele" to be, with its extraordinary terseness of form and concentration of expression; such a difference is not less than that between two different great workers in the same art-forms. True, the difference does not amount to any very marked change in the forms themselves. But it is real, and it is progressive. It is the result of the inner organic necessity of each work to differ from its predecessors; and the question whether the forms can be seen to change in obvious and large aspects is quite secondary and often a mere source of confusion.

With Bach's son, Philipp Emanuel, history takes a fresh direction. Here we have again quite a different type of progress. It is not that Sebastian Bach's art-forms can no longer continue without alteration as types for works of art that differ healthily from each other. Philipp Emanuel is not (at least, in the work he values most) concerned to alter his father's art-forms; he is occupied with something quite different, with forms in which his father took only a passing interest, but in which he himself and his contemporaries see dazzling new possibilities. Unfortunately, new possibilities are almost all that he does see (at least, while he is composing; as a devout believer in his "seliger Vater" he is sound enough). And new possibilities without old actualities will not make permanent art. He is a consummate master of a certain kind, and his new art is not, except in remoter possibilities than even he dreamt of, a thing of very unmanageable range. And so there is a world of difference between his progress and Monteverde's. He is not struggling with a chaos of new sensations; he is a man of genius, inventing amusing scientific toys on the basis of discoveries for which scientific theory is not yet ready. Philipp Emanuel's structures were, like such scientific toys, hailed by the cultivated musical observers of his day as far more progressive and enlightened than the "crabbed" and "unnatural" contrapuntal speculations of his father (*vide* Burney, *passim*). They were indeed very brilliant and immensely suggestive to contemporaries; but they were very shaky underground, and the best years of Haydn's adolescence were sacrificed to the task of underpinning the foundations of their new forms. And not till Haydn had

reached nearly the age at which Mozart died did his own art become free to make the true progress by which each work differs from every other. Here, then, we have yet a fourth kind of historic progress; that in which the artist is neither trying fresh experiments (not that Haydn was not constantly doing so) nor playing with new toys, but simply working like an ordinary student to attain ordinary mastery in a subject which no living man can teach. The difference between Haydn's early and later work is, roughly speaking, the difference between exercises and art. To his early contemporaries he must have been a strange puzzle. They must have wondered to see a man of his ability apparently lagging so hopelessly behind his friends Boccherini and Dittersdorf, who worked so directly towards the attainment of a "charming individuality" of style. How could they foresee that this "charming individuality" led to stagnation while Haydn's plodding led to—Creation?

With Beethoven progress seems to start out in all directions, and all of them lead to truth. The real fact is that in his case the differences between one work and another are evident in outward form, and the range covered by each work increases with enormous rapidity throughout his career. But his early works certainly do not stand towards the later as exercises to works of art: they are perfect masterpieces of smaller range. What is right for them would be inadequate for the later: what is right for the later would be nonsensical in the earlier. At bottom, Beethoven's vast progress is essentially the same as Bach's and Palestrina's. The difference is purely one of degree, and lies simply in the extreme obviousness of the changes in art-forms and the enormous increase in range of thought. It is purely artistic and is accomplished without a trace of the chaotic struggles of Monteverde, the sketchy suggestiveness of Philipp Emanuel Bach, or the touchingly modest self-negation of certain aspects of Haydn's early work.

Our last example is Wagner. Does any intelligent admirer of Wagner believe that the progress in his work is the same as in any of the cases we have just reviewed? There is surely quite a different element in it. There is, no doubt, the gradual attainment of mastery from crude beginnings, as with Haydn; there is also a wonderful increase in range of thought and development of form, as with Beethoven. And there is also, as with all great art, that true artistic progress which we see in Palestrina, Bach, Beethoven, and the other greatest of classics, where it is the individuality of the work that accounts for all its difference from its fellows. But is there in any of these other cases that element which is so wonderful in Wagner's whole career, the partial presence and gradual eradication of things that come of lower and baser

ideals? Beethoven may have lost sympathy with his earlier work; but could he ever have felt that he had attained a low but eminently secure mastery in a style so utterly unworthy of his own true ideals as large tracts of Tannhäuser, and such brilliant outbursts of vulgarity as the Vorspiel to the third act of Lohengrin are unworthy of Wagner's? If these things were badly executed, the progress of Wagner would be far less marvellous. It is their mastery that constitutes the miracle. They are crude only in relation to Wagner's highest ideals; and only the very greatest and clearest comprehension of these ideals could have enabled Wagner, with all his (in some directions) tremendous force of character so to eliminate them, with all their fascinating successfulness, that in the Meistersinger not a trace of anything but the most refined thought is left.

If progress in art can mean such entirely different things as we find in these six cases, we may see how absurd it is to think that we have successfully pigeon-holed such a new factor in modern music as the work of Dr. Richard Strauss by calling it progressive! Is Strauss a Philipp Emanuel Bach, a Monteverde, a Beethoven, or any of the dozens of other types of Vorwärtsmann that might be cited? Only the intimate study of each individual work of his will give us an answer.

It now remains to fulfil the last promise of my Synopsis, and to attempt in a few words a classification of composers according to their grasp of that organic unity which we have here regarded as the universal criterion of art. We must bear in mind certain practical considerations, or our classification will become unmanageable. We must, for example, disregard inequalities in a composer's output, for we cannot be certain of the causes which lead him to do less than his best; and his best is, after all, the only work that expresses his full meaning most adequately. It would surely be repugnant to our feelings if, supposing the lost seventy plays of Æschylus were discovered and turned out to be greatly inferior to the extant seven, our estimate of Æschylus were no longer permitted to be grounded on those seven, but were forcibly reduced to an average based mainly on the inferior majority.

On the whole it will be as well to put the question not in the form "Who are the greatest composers?" but rather "Who shows the highest type of mind?" We shall thus be spared the endless and vexatious doubts that arise when we remember how this composer was cut off in his prime, or that other one had to work for years in a transition period of art, an Egyptian bondage of making bricks without straw. Moreover, the very question "Who is the greatest composer?" is somewhat suggestive of the heresy against which

most of this argument is directed, the heresy that works of art can be safely and finally criticised by comparing them with each other, instead of by seeing how each fulfils the law of its own being. Again, we must beware of drawing false inferences from the range covered by a composer's work, or we shall find ourselves putting writers of small modern lyrics above the greatest composers of earlier ages. There is no doubt that the slightest modern lyric, even the simplest melody harmonized and accompanied within the limits of Mozart's art, goes incomparably beyond the utmost conceivable range of Palestrina's art in every musical and expressive category: and there is no reason for denying that many modern lyrics are exceedingly perfect works of art. But this does not make their composers greater than Palestrina. The range of the work is no criterion in this form. It becomes a criterion only when we put the question "Does the composer cover the whole ground implied by the terms of his art, or is he confined to some narrower aspect of it?" In this light Palestrina triumphs on the very matter of range itself. His work is limited by nothing less than the whole art that it implies. Modal harmony, pure choral polyphony, every one of its limitations is the very reverse of an outward and ascetic restraint. Beyond those limitations there is, according to the very terms of Palestrina's art, no music at all; the art of music is the art of pure modal choral writing, and is perfectly complete and mature. Palestrina is no specialist, though he wrote so little secular music. It is not "specializing" to devote oneself chiefly to the highest possibilities of one's art; and such secular music as Palestrina did write shows that it is no incapacity that prevented him from writing more; and indeed it would be a singularly absurd pedantry that would deny the wonderfully modern dramatic and poetic secularity of expression of a motet like "*Quid habes, Hester*," merely on the ground that the story of Esther is Biblical.

If we take the ground already suggested—that what we are to look for is the evidence of a certain universality of mind, a mind that neglects nothing that is implied by the terms of the art in which it was born to work—Palestrina has a clear claim to his established place among the greatest of immortals, with Bach and Beethoven. And for the same reason I can see not the smallest evidence against the claim of Haydn and Mozart to a position in the same seventh heaven. I see not the least reason to doubt that theirs is that greatness of mind which grasps the whole truth of the work in hand. That Beethoven followed them with equally perfect work of incomparably greater range is indisputable, but irrelevant. That Beethoven's work is ostensibly in the same art-forms, or that he was actually Haydn's pupil, need give us no difficulty; for we

have already seen that it is only in a loose and convenient way of speaking that art-forms have any existence apart from their embodiment in individual works of art, and that true originality is not a question of mere novelty or absence of traceable connection with past teaching. The greatness of Beethoven's mind is not incompatible with the greatness of Mozart's and Haydn's. To compare minds of this order is really not logical; it is like comparing different kinds of infinity, such as an infinite plane with infinite space of three dimensions; or like comparing a sunset with a flower.

If we keep to our plan of looking rather to evidence of greatness of mind than to perfection of extant achievement, I cannot help thinking that Schubert will be found to deserve a far higher place than ordinary orthodox opinion gives him. As a song-writer his consummate attainments have never been disputed, and this alone would make him one of the very greatest of artists with a special province; but his instrumental music makes him something higher. True, it shows almost every possible defect of technique and consistency; but our evidence for greatness of mind must be positive and not negative, and there is no defect in Schubert's larger works so glaring that it may not be cancelled in our estimation by some brilliant example where the missing quality is presented as only the greatest minds can conceive it. Time forbids dwelling further on the details of this subject, and I hasten to the end of this scheme.

On a lower plane than that of the whole-minded classics we may place the men with a special province. It is impossible to regard a great lyric-writer like Chopin as either an imperfect artist or a classic of the greatest kind. His representative works are wonderfully perfect in themselves, and that is all that we can require of a work of art. But they represent only a small part of the art which their existence implies. The very existence of Chopin's own instrument, the pianoforte, and, still more, his tremendous development of its resources, implies vast fields of other instrumentation and form in which he took only a cultivated spectator's passing interest, and at which it never occurred to him to do a stroke of work. That is not like a Palestrina or a Beethoven. No one supposes that it is wrong; but it is a good reason for regarding such a mind as belonging to a less than supreme order.

Before leaving the specialists we must make a careful note of an important kind of art that is neither on the higher classical plane nor confined to a special province, nor, in any ordinary sense, imperfect in design or execution. In a true classic the matter and form are one: whatever simplicity of organization there may be in any one category will be in a perfectly natural relation to the organization of the rest. But in the kind of work now to be mentioned there is a deliberate

sacrifice of some important aspect of organization : no mere oversight or clumsiness of design, but an *artificial* limitation not a natural result of the range of material. It is necessary to the work, or, rather, to the composer, for without thus simplifying his task he feels unable to execute large designs. Thus it is not for a moment to be confused with a mere affectation of simplicity. A familiar comparison will show all that is necessary to say about this kind of art. Take the opening of Mozart's "Paris" Symphony: we need not commit ourselves to the view that this is a perfect work, but it is at least the early effort of a very great man. You cannot hear half the first line without feeling that this kind of assertion of tonic and dominant implies the simplest and clearest possible form—harmony, colour, and sentiment. Those first eight bars are repeated. Exactly? No; the repetition is very effectively expanded. With all its simplicity, Mozart's material is too highly organized for anyone but Mozart himself to guess exactly how it shall be treated.

Now take the beginning of Schumann's Quintet. At once you feel that this is modern music, modern in sentiment, key, tone, and everything. Not quite everything, however. In the first page you already feel that the rhythm is more uniformly square and the sequences more rigid than anything in classical music; and by the time you reach the second subject you realize that this is no blunder, but an artificial limitation resulting in work of a new kind and with a beauty which, though not of the highest type, you would be sorry to lose. Surely such work ought to raise Schumann to a somewhat higher place than he already deserves as one of the very greatest lyric artists! True, a man who did nothing else but such artificial work would not deserve to rank as high as any entirely perfect master of a province not bounded by a single mannerism: but surely it argues a very exceptional breadth of mind, not to mention the ingenuity, when so wonderful a lyric composer finds time to enrich his world with these artificial forms.

It only remains to arrange the lower orders of composers as justly as may be; and I do not propose to go further into the subject, since we have seen amply enough to grasp what principles are involved. The makers of history will, I think, come next, below the specialists; but, in spite of their historic reputation, it is obvious that they must take rank rather according to their greater or less success in achieving works of art (whether "progressive" or "reactionary") than according to the amount of history they made, or even the extent to which they foreshadowed the great art of a later time. Thus, no one can doubt that though Monteverde made ten times as much history as Schütz or Purcell, yet

these were incomparably greater artists. Lastly we have the makers of things that merely look like works of art. They differ in degrees of self-deception : some being sincere, though obtuse ; and others being undoubtedly frauds. But we will leave them to arrange themselves ; for at this point the subject becomes unprofitable.

Let me once more, in thanking you for your kind attention, repeat that my object has not been to say anything new, but simply to arrange familiar ideas so that they do not lead to unsound methods of thought. I fear I have seemed to produce a bundle of platitudes. With less anxiety for accuracy and more eye to effect, no doubt the same arguments might have been presented as a galaxy of paradoxes.

DISCUSSION.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Ladies and Gentlemen: Our first duty is to thank Mr. Tovey for the "lecture," I think we must call it, rather than the paper, which he has given us. There is some little inconvenience in the style he has adopted in addressing us, as I cannot but think that if Mr. Tovey is gifted with ever so good a memory, he will find it difficult to set down the identical address which he has delivered. His remarks ranged over a vast field of criticism, of form, and the examination of the works of some of the great composers. But what I have been trying to get at is, what is this particular touchstone of criticism, this inestimably useful revelation which will enable us to put our hands on a work, and say, Now that is a real work of art, and can be so proved by the principles which our lecturer has formulated? So far as I have been able to discover there has been no distinct touchstone given. The nearest one could get to it was that a work of art must strike us by its *vividness and completeness*. If you come to examine and see the meaning of these words "*vividness and completeness*," and what idea they convey to one's mind, so far as I can speak for myself a very definite impression is conveyed. The work must be vivid—that is to say, it must make a clear, strong appeal to our emotions ; and it must be complete—that is to say, it must tell a perfect tale. I think it would be very dangerous to accept such a standard as the criterion of a great work of music. Let me apply it to one piece, and I am sure you will all laugh—Jullien's "British Army Quadrilles." There is a vivid work for you! Here are depicted persons going to combat ; they are marched up in the proper order, and fight

with guns and swords and all the rest, and after a very terrible battle, of course one side is defeated and the other is victorious; all is finished, and the piece winds up with "God save the King." Is that the sort of vividness and completeness, the sort of test you are going to apply and look for in a great work of art? Surely you want something more than that? Among the many statements which our lecturer made,—several of them bristling with matters one might discuss until to-morrow morning—was one to which I feel bound to take exception, and that is the contemptuous terms in which he spoke of "Hummel and such small deer." I have observed such language applied to Hummel before. It dates from the time when, most unfortunately, Sir George Grove entrusted the writing of an article on Hummel to Mr. Dannreuther, who seems to have known little or nothing about his subject; so ignorant indeed was he that he did not know how many masses Hummel had left. Hummel was a very much greater man than Mr. Dannreuther thinks. He had the misfortune, so far as his fame is concerned, to be living at the same time as Beethoven, whose great and mighty genius overshadowed everyone else who lived at the same time. But there was no lack of excellent musicians at that time, some of whom deserve to be much better known than they are. And you must remember that Hummel lived many years after Beethoven's death, and like Haydn in respect to Mozart, he profited by a study of the music that had been written during his career, and he produced some very fine work. I do not hesitate to say that in my humble opinion the septett of Hummel is infinitely greater than Beethoven's. Beethoven's was written when he was a young man, and it is mainly on the lines of Mozart, while Hummel's was written when he was an old man, and had studied the best of Beethoven's work. I only say that because I feel bound to make a protest against the view that some people have expressed with regard to Hummel. With regard to Palestrina, I profess myself an immense admirer of him, but surely his work had limitations; it had limitations in form and in harmony, and, as Mr. Tovey truly says, it is difficult for us, with the strains of Beethoven, shall I say?—at any rate with those of Wagner and Strauss—in our ears, fully to appreciate Palestrina. I admit there is a difficulty; but after all, to do justice to his work, we must look at it as we do at the works of our great madrigal writers—as a portion, an important portion, of the history of music. In the time at which he wrote it was an advance, and we must try to throw ourselves back to that time, and thus admire it. That is just what we do in studying Chaucer or Homer. They each belong to a certain period, and I think their work must be

judged in the light of what we know of that period. But music is a progressive art; its finality has not yet been reached—I doubt if it ever will be reached. When we come to the perfect work of art it will have to be judged according to the standard of its own day. So Palestrina can now only be looked at historically. Moreover Palestrina, it must be remembered, owed very much to other composers, especially to Morales. If Morales had never lived, I will not say there would have been no Palestrina, but he would not have done so great a work as he achieved. One remark I must make about Haydn, and that is with reference to the pooriness of his trios, in which the violoncello part seldom does more than double the bass of the pianoforte part. That seems an easy thing to say; but I would point out that there is a necessity for it. Haydn wanted the proper balance of the tone of the parts, and this he obtained by doubling the bass in this way, and therefore I cannot agree with our lecturer that they are merely violin sonatas. I am now going to ask for expressions of opinion on some of the many debatable points raised by Mr. Tovey; but first I must ask you to give him a vote of thanks for the immense amount of trouble he must have taken in thinking over the question of musical criticism, and bringing it before us.

(The vote of thanks was passed unanimously.)

MR. STATHAM. — I listened to the paper with great interest, and there is very little with which I was not in complete agreement. I understood Mr. Tovey to say exactly what the Chairman said about Palestrina, *i.e.*, that he represented the music of his own day. What struck me was that in all works of art the real criterion is a kind of thing that you do not so much reason about as you get to feel in studying works of art throughout your life. I have got into the habit of looking at it this way: I think, What was the composer aiming at; was it worth aiming at; has he succeeded in his aim; and has he used his material entirely to that end? I almost think you will find that covers everything. For instance, I take it in that case that a work of art should always be an organised whole, and that as soon as you find any detail in it which does not seem to be related to the central idea, but seems as though it might belong to something else, so far it is ineffective. Mr. Tovey referred to Dante's great work. I think if that had been written in prose it would be almost a medley. What makes it a great poem is the well-marked form in which it is presented; the form preserves it. And that, I think, is to a great extent true of music—that however much *geist*, however much emotional power there may be in the work, it will not really last unless it be perfect in form. That is the way one should learn to feel about a work of art. It is not so much a matter

to be reasoned about; rather is it a matter of perception that you often get only after long years. There are several sonatas even of Beethoven's in which there are passages which seem to me to be excrescences. For instance, in the early Sonata in D, Op. 10, No. 3, the first three movements are complete in their form; but in that charming though rather freakish *finale* there is a little bit just at the end, where he suddenly breaks into a succession of syncopated chords, which has nothing to do with anything else in the movement. It is interesting because Beethoven did it, but still it seems to be an excrescence. Mr. Tovey places Schubert higher than I should. I quite agree with the main argument that he was great because he tried so many things; but I always feel that Schubert's instrumental music wants that organic perfection which is essential to a great work of art. You find details repeated over and over again instead of being interwoven in a way that makes a complete whole. I was very glad to hear him speak as he did of Bach's three styles. In the class of works with which I am most familiar—his organ music—it appears to me that his three styles are as completely distinct as Beethoven's three styles. I could approximately place anyone of them in its order from its style. He began with music which was rather formal and conventional; but at the close of his career he had reached a much higher intellectual plane.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I would say with regard to what Mr. Statham calls excrescences, that others might regard them differently. While to some they seem irrelevant, others might find in them a welcome relief from the strict adherence to the form of the movement.

MR. STATHAM.—They might say it was all the better for the excrescences, but they would still be excrescences.

MR. TOVEY.—No one can feel more strongly than I do the disadvantage of having to speak without a written paper. I should like to say in excuse that I lost some of my notes, which may account for the somewhat extempore character of the lecture; but apart from that, I confess that I fully accept the responsibility for what I did say, though I beg to plead in extenuation of my departure from the custom of the Association that I will re-collect my notes, and do the best I can to put the lecture into form. But as regards certain things that I did actually say, I should like to explain that I did not set up vividness and completeness as a test of art at all. What I did say was, that if we pass in review all the works of art that we know well, we should find that our impression of them is of something vivid and complete. My method was to take our common experiences and find something that was true of them all, some way of stating and arranging them that should not be logically unsound and

liable to miss the real criteria, and I still think that in all of them this impression of vividness and completeness is realised. It is different from the experiences of life in having a vividness and completeness which no actual experience has; and I tried to arrive at a conception of a work of art as an attempt to produce something complete in itself. Now the Jullien Quadrilles, I submit, would not answer to that condition. To whom are they vivid and complete? To persons who have no experience of music; they certainly are not so to anyone who knows them by heart, if he knows any other music that is worth knowing. You see the difference if you compare them with Beethoven's "Battle" Symphony. I should dispute the claim of the latter to be called a perfect work of art, but still it has artistic qualities, and its vividness and completeness appeal as do those of a mob-orator. Bad, untrue rhetoric has an element of art in it, because it is an attempt to make the impression on the hearer something more conclusive, though illogical. Take a bad specimen of the novel with a purpose; it appeals to ordinary minds more than a common work of art. As for Hummel, I apologise and retract. I confess that I had scratched out Hummel's name, and only read it by an oversight. But I utterly fail to see that Hummel is a very great composer: that he was an exceedingly useful worker I do not for a moment deny. Then with regard to Palestrina, I fear I did not altogether succeed in making my point clear about the limitations. It is not, to my mind, a satisfactory explanation of the genius of Palestrina to say that it made history. Monteverde made history, but his works are no longer of any interest save to the student of history. An abominable madrigal of the Prince of Venosa was very remarkable at the time when it was written. But it is impossible to say that the Prince of Venosa saw the whole truth of music as expressed in the only terms in which it was thinkable in the time of Palestrina — that of pure vocal harmony. As to Morales' works, I wish I knew more about them, though I have one or two of his masses; but what strikes me about the whole of the music of the sixteenth century is its analogy to the closely corresponding period of English literature, and to the palmy days of the great Italian painters. What I appeal to is the permanence of the work, and that, I submit, is a question of its organisation. Mr. Statham gratified me more than I can express, not merely by his kindly appreciation, but by his substantial agreement with me. What are those criteria which he stated but what I said? Is not that one way of saying, Did he produce a perfect organism? Is what he tried to do a self-consistent whole, and is it worth doing? It does not seem to me quite complete, because there is no doubt that

Schumann tried to produce sonata music, which had a certain stiffness, which is not derived from the nature of harmony and form. There is no doubt he tried to do it, and it was worth doing ; but I must say that a work of that kind is a less organic work of art than the works of Beethoven. I should like to mention with regard to the particular passage at the end of Beethoven's Op. 10, No. 3, that it does not strike me as an excrescence. I think there is a great deal that must be sought for in the work. Pursuing my method of criticism, the result of my attempt to offer a criterion—organic unity—is that I feel that a reason why the *finale* of that sonata is very much shorter than the first two movements. I find it very difficult to explain it, as the complexity of artistic organisation is so enormous ; but falling back on my own feelings in the matter, I should say that that passage is not an excrescence. Even formally there is a connection, for it recalls the rhythmic figure—



on which the subject is based. Here you have a rondo of the type in which the episodes are purposely not very closely connected with the main subject—not the form that approximates to the binary sonata form in which the first episode in the dominant would subsequently recur in the tonic. It is rather a capricious form where there are traces of the rondo in couplets, the kind that Haydn was rather fond of. You have this comparatively stiff form with this singularly free treatment, and when you have that contrast I think you may expect surprises. I feel that in that sort of way there is organic unity, and I feel that I have defended it by this organic criterion.

APPENDIX.

List of Contents for the last five years of the publications of the International Musical Society.

[E. = English; F. = French; G. = German; I. = Italian.]

ZEITSCHRIFT (Monthly Journal).

In addition to the Leading Articles specified below, each number of the ZEITSCHRIFT (about fifty pages royal 8vo) contains information, written either in German, English, French, or Italian, according to source of origin, under the following heads:—(a) Music reports from various countries, by Special Correspondents, (b) News about Lectures, (c) News connected with Academical Institutions, (d) Occasional Notes, (e) Reviews of all important Books on Music appearing throughout the world, (f) Reviews on Music, (g) Catalogue of all important Articles appearing in the Musical Press throughout the world, about 200 monthly, (h) Record of Booksellers' Catalogues, (i) Queries and Answers among members, (j) Comments on previous articles by members, (k) Official proceedings of Branches.

FIRST YEAR.

PARTS 1-2. OCTOBER—NOVEMBER, 1899.

Introductory (G.)—O. Fleischer (Berlin).
Music in England (E.)—C. Maclean (London).
Bayreuth 1899 Festspiele (G.)—W. Kleefeld (Berlin).
The Morsius Album (G.)—M. Seiffert (Berlin).
An old Lute-book (G.)—J. Wolf (Berlin).

PART 3. DECEMBER, 1899.

Can the remains of ancient Greek music be now performed? (G.)—
O. Fleischer (Berlin).
Musical life in Russia (G.)—N. Findeisen (Petersburg).
Tristan at the Nouveau Théâtre (F.)—L. Dauriac (Paris).
Review of Dechevrens' "Etudes de science musicale" (F.)—M. Lussy
(Paris).

PART 4. JANUARY, 1900.

Vocal teaching in the higher schools (G.)—E. Boehm (Berlin).
First complete List of Members.

PART 5. FEBRUARY, 1900.

Concert-music for the Concert-room (G.)—O. G. Sonneck (New York).
The editions of collected works of Handel and Bach (G.)—M. Seiffert
(Berlin).
The text of Braga's Serenata (G.)—J. Bolte (Berlin).
Mozart's "Freimaurer-Gesellenlied" (G.)—E. Vaupèl (Vienna).

PART 6. MARCH, 1900.

Letter from Florence (I.)—E. del Valle de Paz (Florence).
Music in England (E.)—C. Maclean (London).
The Bach Clavicembalum and its reconstruction (G.)—O. Fleischer
(Berlin).
The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (G.)—M. Seiffert (Berlin).

PART 7. APRIL, 1900.

Music in Rome (G.)—F. Spiro (Rome).
Concerts in Paris (F.)—M. Chassang (Paris).

PART 8. MAY, 1900.

Vocal Teaching (F.)—Lydia Torrigi Heiroth (Geneva).
 Concerts in Vienna (G.)—R. Hirschfeld (Vienna).
 Popular concerts and Music over-production (G.)—G. Münzer (Breslau).
 The promoters of Church music in Moscow (G.)—N. Findeisen (Petersburg).
 Second complete List of Members.

PART 9. JUNE, 1900.

Saint-Saëns as author (F.)—A. Pougin (Paris).
 Music in Paris (F.)—M. Chassang (Paris).
 Opera in Vienna (G.)—R. Hirschfeld (Vienna).
 Vocal teaching in grammar-schools (G.)—R. Starke (Breslau).

PART 10. JULY, 1900.

J. P. E. Hartmann (G.)—W. Behrend (Copenhagen).
 Music in Spain (F.)—E. L. Chavarri (Madrid).
 Popular Concerts (G.)—S. Levysohn (Copenhagen).
 36th Congress of the Allgem. Deut. Musik-Verein (G.)—H. Goldschmidt (Berlin).
 Chamber-music Festival in Stuttgart (G.)—K. Grunsky (Stuttgart).
 Handel Festival in Bonn (G.)—M. Seiffert (Berlin).

PART 11. AUGUST, 1900.

Man's Alto in English Music (E.)—A. H. D. Prendergast (London).
 Musical Congress at the Paris Exhibition (F.)—M. Chassang (Paris).
 Toonkunstenaars-Vereeniging Festival (G.)—W. N. F. Sibmacher-Zijnen (Rotterdam).
 Music Festival at Zürich (G.)—K. Nef (Basel).
 The 14th Silesian Music Festival (G.)—T. Rothkegel (Neisse).
 Lortzing Festival at Pymont (G.)—G. R. Kruse (Ulm).
 Bruckner's Mass in F minor (G.)—K. Grunsky (Stuttgart).

PART 12. SEPTEMBER, 1900.

Opera in Russia (G.)—N. Findeisen (Petersburg).
 Music in England (E.)—C. Maclean (London).
 The Music of the Oberammergeau Passion Play (E.)—A. H. D. Prendergast (London).
 The Congress of Musical History (F.)—J.-G. Prod'homme (Paris).
 On Musical Magazine Literature (G.)—O. G. Sonneck (New York).

Total—406 pages.*

SECOND YEAR.

PART 1. OCTOBER, 1900.

Concerts in Russia (G.)—N. Findeisen (Petersburg).
 Music in Stockholm (G.)—A. Lindgren (Stockholm).
 Music in Spain (F.)—E. L. Chavarri (Madrid).
 The Sonata, ancient and modern (F.)—E. Pierret (Paris).
 Catalogue of Handel performances, 1899-1900 (G.)—E. Krause (Hamburg).

PART 2. NOVEMBER, 1900.

The English Provincial Festivals (E.)—J. A. Fuller Maitland (London).
 Music at the Paris Exhibition (F.)—M. Chassang (Paris).
 Leipzig Symphony-Concerts, 1899-1900 (G.)—D. Schultz (Leipzig).
 Mental overstraining in children (G.)—C. H. Richter (Geneva).

* Fully indexed.

PART 3. DECEMBER, 1900.

Tre Giorni son che Nina (E.)—W. Barclay Squire (London).
A collection of National Hymns (G.)—H. Abert (Berlin).
Robert Radecke (G.)—G. Beckmann (Essen).

PART 4. JANUARY, 1901.

On musical scholastic institutions (G.)—K. Navratil (Vienna).
The musical season in Paris (F.)—L. Dauriac (Paris).

PART 5. FEBRUARY, 1901.

The composer of the Marseillaise (F.)—J. Tiersot (Paris).
Italian or Native language? (G.)—O. G. Sonneck (New York).
Music in Spain (F.)—E. L. Chavarri (Madrid).
Musical life in Rome (G.)—F. Spiro (Rome).
Concerts in Paris (F.)—M. Chassang (Paris).

PART 6. MARCH, 1901.

A simplification of accidentals and key-signatures (G.)—G. Capellen (Osnabrück).
Giuseppe Verdi (G.)—H. Abert (Berlin).

PART 7. APRIL, 1901.

Music as an impression (G.)—F. Rosenthal (Vienna).
Registration of Music Teachers in England (E.)—J. W. Sidebotham (Manchester).

PART 8. MAY, 1901.

Notice regarding Supplement Volumes of the I. M. G.
Old music in old garments (G.)—O. G. Sonneck (New York).
An Elegy on Henry Purcell (E.)—W. Barclay Squire (London).
Sir John Stainer (E.)—C. Maclean (London).
Supplement to simplification of accidentals, &c. (G.)—G. Capellen (Osnabrück).

PART 9. JUNE, 1901.

Hans von Bülow's Nirvána (E.)—C. A. Barry (London).
Music and the teaching profession (G.)—O. Fleischer (Berlin).
Scores (G.)—H. H. Stephani (Leipzig).

PART 10. JULY, 1901.

Woman and the musical education of the young (G.)—Louise Müller (Darmstadt).
Stanford's New Opera (E.)—C. Maclean (London).
Theatres and Concerts in Paris (F.)—M. Chassang (Paris).
37th Congress of the Allgem. Deut. Musik-Verein (G.)—F. Stein (Heidelberg).

PART 11. AUGUST, 1901.

Musical life in Russia (G.)—N. Findeisen (Petersburg).
Bach Festival at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (E.)—A. A. Stanley (Ann Arbor).
Music in London (E.)—C. Maclean (London).

PART 12. SEPTEMBER, 1901.

Bayreuth Impressions (G.)—M. Koch (Breslau).
The London Opera Season (E.)—J. A. Fuller Maitland (London).
A Traveller's note from Delphi (E.)—C. F. Abdy-Williams (London).

Total—462 pages,*

* Fully indexed.

THIRD YEAR.

PART I. OCTOBER, 1901.

Wagner Documents (G.)—L. Schmidt (Dresden).
 Wagner's letter to Stahr (G.)—G. Münzer (Breslau).
 Music in Rome, 1901 (G.)—F. Spiro (Rome).
 Music in Stockholm, 1901 (G.)—A. Lindgren (Stockholm).

PART 2. NOVEMBER, 1901.

Fr. Chrysander (G.)—O. Fleischer (Berlin).
 The Leeds Festival (E.)—J. A. Fuller Maitland (London).
 Stamitz' letter to Frederick-William II. (G.)—G. Thouret (Berlin).

PART 3. DECEMBER, 1901.

Music in Gymnasium Schools (G.)—H. Abert (Berlin).
 Weber correspondence (G.)—L. Schmidt (Dresden).
 Orchestral and Choral Balance (E.)—J. E. Borland (London)

PART 4. JANUARY, 1902.

Music in North of England (E.)—Ernest Newman (Liverpool).
 Bruneau's Ouragan (F.)—L. Dauriac (Paris).
 Berlin Mozart Festival (G.)—G. Thouret (Berlin).
 Method of Madame Luise Krause (G.)—L. Riemann (Essen).

PART 5. FEBRUARY, 1902.

Hermann Goetz (G.)—E. Istel (Munich).
 Miss Anna Robena Laidlaw (G.)—F. G. Jansen (Hanover).
 Flosculi Diurnorum (E.)—C. Maclean (London).
 Music in Paris (F.)—M. Chassang (Paris).

PART 6. MARCH, 1902.

Yorkshire Choral Singing (E.)—H. Thompson (Leeds).
 The "Meistersinger" in Rome (G.)—F. Spiro (Rome).
 Pedrell's Los Pirineos (F.)—F. S. Bravo (Barcelona).

PART 7. APRIL, 1902.

Hasse on Mozart (E.)—H. Kretzschmar (Leipzig).
 On the Pizzicato (G.)—A. Rombro-Spiro (Rome).
 Recent Novelties in London (E.)—F. Gilbert Webb (London).
 Concerts throughout France (F.)—J.-G. Prod'homme (Paris).

PART 8. MAY, 1902.

Tonality in Piano-Teaching (G.)—Tony Bandmann (Hamburg).
 Three Forgotten Waltzes by Schubert (E.)—W. Barclay Squire (London).
 Julius Hey's Vocal Method (E.)—F. X. Arens (New York).

PART 9. JUNE, 1902.

Four New Bach-letters (G.)—F. Schmidt (Sangerhausen).
 Music in Paris (F.)—L. Dauriac (Paris).

PART 10. JULY, 1902.

The Symphony in France (F.)—J. Tiersot (Paris).

PART 11. AUGUST, 1902.

Bonaparte's Music Policy (G.)—O. Fleischer (Berlin).
 Regarding Musical Criticism (E.)—F. Gilbert Webb (London).
 A new letter of Berlioz (F.)—J.-G. Prod'homme (Paris).

PART 12. SEPTEMBER, 1902.

- A Topographical Dictionary of Music History (F.)—J.-G. Prod'homme (Paris).
 Bayreuth, 1902 (G.)—A. Mayer-Reinach (Berlin).
 The London Opera Season (E.)—W. Barclay Squire (London).
 "Princess Osra" and "Der Wald" (E.)—C. Maclean (London).
 Total—512 pages.*

FOURTH YEAR.

PART 1. OCTOBER, 1902.

- Pianoforte Touch, &c., on Marie Jaëll's system (G.)—Jeanne Bosch (Steege).
 A letter of Spontini's to Napoleon (G.)—E. Rychnovsky (Podersam).
 London novelties (E.)—Gilbert Webb (London).
 Music in Russia, 1901-2 (G.)—Nic. Findeisen (Petersburg).

PART 2. NOVEMBER, 1902.

- Sheffield Musical Festival (G.)—O. Lessmann (Charlottenburg).
 The Juggler of Notre-Dame (G.)—F. Pfohl (Hamburg).
 Max Schilling's "Pfeifertag" (G.)—A. Mayer-Reinach (Berlin).
 Leo Blech's "Das war ich" (G.)—R. von Wistinghausen (Dresden).
 Mozart's "Zaide" (G.)—R. Hirschfeld (Vienna).
 English Opera at Covent Garden (E.)—Vernon Blackburn (London).

PART 3. DECEMBER, 1902.

- Emile Zola and Music (F.)—J.-G. Prod'homme (Paris).
 Klinger's Beethoven statue (G.)—G. Münzer (Berlin).
 Music in Paris (F.)—M. Chassang (Paris).
 "Dornröschen" and "Don Pasquale" (G.)—H. Pohl (Frankfort).
 English Provincial Festivals (E.)—Herb. Thompson (Leeds).

PART 4. JANUARY, 1903.

- Development of Chamber Music (G.)—M. E. Sachs (Munich).
 Serov (E.)—Rosa Newmarch (London).
 Dittersdorfiana (G.)—E. Istel (Munich).
 Puccini's "Tosca" (G.)—E. Reuss (Dresden).
 Music in Vienna (G.)—R. Hirschfeld (Vienna).

PART 5. FEBRUARY, 1903.

- Herbert Spencer as Musician (E.)—Ernest Newman (Liverpool).
 New Letters by Liszt, Rubinstein, &c. (G.)—H. Abert (Halle).
 Litzmann's "Clara Schumann" (G.)—H. Abert (Halle).
 Development of Chamber Music (G.)—W. Altmann (Friedenau).
 Bruneau's "Messidor" (G.)—E. Istel (Munich).
 Music in Buda-Pesth (G.)—V. von Herzfeld (Buda-Pesth).

PART 6. MARCH, 1903.

- Photophonography (G.)—O. Fleischer (Berlin).
 Solenière's "Notules musicales" (G.)—C. H. Richter (Geneva).
 The "Temple" and Music (E.)—Arthur Prendergast (London).
 Bruckner's 9th Symphony (G.)—A. Neisser (Vienna).
 Massenet's "Griselidis" (G.)—W. Andrae (Zurich).
 Music in Holland (G.)—Sibmacher-Zijnen (Rotterdam).

PART 7.—APRIL, 1903.

- The Art of Hearing (G.)—W. Nagel (Darmstadt).
 An 18th Century Music-library at Basle (G.)—K. Nef (Basle).
 Musical Concert Season in London (E.)—Alfred Kalisch (London).
 Music in Paris (F.)—M. Chassang (Paris).

* Fully indexed.

PART 8. MAY, 1903.

The Resuscitation of the Church Modes (G.)—M. E. Sachs (Munich).
 Music in Russia (G.)—Nic. Findeisen (Petersburg).
 Hugo Wolf's Songs (G.)—R. Hirschfeld (Vienna).
 Borodin's "Prince Igor" (E.)—Rosa Newmarch (London).
 Wolf-Ferrari's "La Vita Nuova" (G.)—E. Istel (Munich).

PART 9. JUNE, 1903.

A Copy-Book of Simrock's Firm (G.)—A. C. Kalischer (Berlin).
 Joachim Raff Memorial (G.)—H. Pohl (Frankfort).
 Chamber Music in London (E.)—W. W. Cobbett (London).

PART 10. JULY, 1903.

Bülowiana (G.)—G. R. Kruse (Berlin).
 Indigenous Music-Exhibitions (G.)—A. Werner (Bitterfeld).
 Music in Paris (F.)—L. Dauriac (Paris).
 39th Festival of the "General German Music-Society" (G.)—
 F. Göttinger (Basle).

PART 11. AUGUST, 1903.

Harmony and Simplification (G.)—Fritz Volbach (Mayence).
 Ernest Legouvé and Music (F.)—J.-G. Prod'homme (Paris).
 Hubert Parry's "War and Peace" (E.)—Ch. Maclean (London).
 Two new music-dramatic works (G.)—C. Goos (Carlsruhe).

PART 12. SEPTEMBER, 1903.

On Music Teaching (G.)—A. Rombro-Spiro (Rome).
 Busoni's Bach Edition (G.)—E. Reuss (Dresden).
 Music in Russia, 1902-1903 (G.)—N. Findeisen (Petersburg).
 The "Ring" at Munich (G.)—A. Mayer-Reinach (Berlin).

Total—756 pages.*

FIFTH YEAR.

PART 1. OCTOBER, 1903.

Public Music Libraries (G.)—W. Altmann (Berlin).
 List of Musical Association Papers, from commencement, under authors
 (E.)—J. Percy Baker (London).

PART 2. NOVEMBER, 1903.

Schubert's Mass in G (G.)—Fr. Spiro (Rome).
 Unpublished Letter from Spontini to Lesueur (F.)—J.-G. Prod'homme
 (Paris).
 Letters by Vieuxtemps, Scribe and Pillet (F.)—J.-G. Prod'homme (Paris).
 Tchaikoffsky on other Composers (G.)—W. Altmann (Berlin).
 "Alpine King and Misanthrope" of Blech (G.)—E. Reuss (Dresden).
 The Wagner Festival and Monument in Berlin (E.)—H. Thompson
 (Leeds) and Alf. Kalisch (London).

PART 3. DECEMBER, 1903.

Herb. Spencer and Meyerbeer (F.)—L. Dauriac (Paris).
 Heidelberg Music Festival (G.)—H. Pohl (Frankfort).
 Hugo Wolf's "Town Magistrate" at Munich (G.)—E. Istel (Munich).
 D'Albert's Opera "The Plains" (G.)—E. Rychnovsky (Prague).
 Parry's "Birds of Aristophanes" at Cambridge (E.)—Ed. Dent
 (Cambridge).
 Music in Berlin (G.)—F. Munk (Berlin).

PART 4. JANUARY, 1904.

The "Janko" Multiplied Keyboard (G.)—R. Hausmann (Friedenau).
 V. Bendix, pianist, composer, &c. (G.)—Jul. Hey (Berlin).
 English Autumn Festivals (E.)—H. Thompson (Leeds).

* Fully indexed.

PARTS 5-6. FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1904.

New Rules, &c., of the International Musical Society (G.)—A. Schering (Sec. of General Meeting).
 Chrysander on "Tannhäuser" (G.)—From 1852 newspaper.
 Chopin Correspondence (G.)—A. Chybinski (Cracow).
 Monasterio and Marsillach, obit. (F.)—F. S. Bravo (Barcelona).

PART 7. APRIL, 1904.

New Version of "Euryanthe" (G.)—G. Adler (Vienna).
 Pianoforte Four-Hand Compositions (E.)—Fr. Niecks (Edinburgh).
 Pfitzner's opera "Rose of the Love Garden" (G.)—E. Istel (Munich).
 Hirschberg's book on French Cyclopædists and the Opera (G.)—A. Heuss (Leipzig).

PART 8. MAY, 1904.

Tschaikoffsky considered internationally (G.)—F. Spiro (Rome).
 Symons's "Plays, Acting, and Music" (E.)—Ern. Newman (Birmingham).
 J. Rebiček, obit. (G.)—W. Altmann (Berlin).
 Fried's "Drunken Song" in Zarathustra (G.)—H. Leichtentritt (Berlin).
 The "Janko" Key-board and simplification (E.)—E. Scrinzi (Bombay).

PART 9. JUNE, 1904.

First Congress of the Society, announcement (G.)
 Ant. Dvorník, obit. (G.)—E. Rychnovsky (Prague).
 Church Music Affairs in Vienna (G.)—E. Bienenfeld (Vienna).
 Chopin Literature (G.)—H. Leichtentritt (Berlin).
 Tovey, Bridge, Elgar (E.)—C. Maclean (London).
 The "Riedel" Society (G.)—A. Heuss (Leipzig).
 G. Muffat, Instrumental Music (G.)—A. Schering (Leipzig).

PART 10. JULY, 1904.

Dutch Music in the 17th century (G.)—R. Münnich (Berlin).
 Stray Notes on Berlioz (E.)—T. Wotton (Wallingford).
 "Tonkünstler" Festival at Frankfort (G.)—H. Pohl (Frankfort).
 "Cornelius" Festival at Weimar (G.)—E. Istel (Munich).
 Albert's "Arien," 17th century (G.)—A. Heuss (Leipzig).

PART 11. AUGUST, 1904.

Exposure of "Photophonography" case (G.)—C. Stumpf (Berlin).
 Wind Instrument Chamber Music (E.)—Fr. Niecks (Edinburgh).
 "Tannhäuser" at Bayreuth (G.)—E. Reuss (Dresden).
 Coincidence or Design? (E.)—S. S. Stratton (Birmingham).
 Compositions of the 15th century, Trent MSS. (G.)—H. Leichtentritt (Berlin).

PART 12. SEPTEMBER, 1904.

Ad. Adam on Berlioz (F.)—J.-G. Prod'homme (Paris).
 Melodic Dance (G.)—E. M. von Hornbostel (Berlin).
 Notes on Dunstable (E.)—C. W. Pearce and W. B. Squire (London).
 Erbach and Hasler's Works (G.)—R. Münnich (Berlin).

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